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ART. I.—*Essay on Political Economy. Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica. Vol. VI. Part I. Edinburgh. 1823.*

THE purpose of this Treatise, as stated by the author, is to define the objects and limits of the science of political economy—to trace its progress—to exhibit and establish the fundamental principles on which it is founded—and to point out the relation and dependence subsisting between its different parts.

Much of what is here stated is ably accomplished, particularly a very useful sketch of the progress of the science; and the whole is executed with so much talent and general knowledge of the subject, as to give considerable weight to the opinions advanced. Yet, we think, that the author, in exhibiting the fundamental principles on which he conceives the science of political economy to be founded, has fallen into some most important errors; and as both his ability as a writer, and the depository in which his treatise is found, will necessarily give it a wide circulation, the interests of the science seem to require that these errors should be pointed out.

Of the work of Adam Smith, on the *Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, the author says, (p. 293.) that it 'has done for political economy, what the *Principia* of Newton did for physics.' The principles of a work which will admit of being so characterized, should not certainly be rejected or modified but on grounds which will stand the test of the strictest examination. We should be among the last to check free and continued inquiry in any science, particularly in one which is most justly described in the present treatise as a science, 'not of speculation, but of fact and experiment.' On such a subject, no writer, however great, can be expected to produce a work which may not subsequently require some modifications and corrections. We do not therefore object to the author of this treatise and the school which he represents, that they differ from Adam Smith; but that, in rejecting some of the fundamental principles of that great master, they propose to substitute others, which not only do not so well account for the facts with which we are surrounded, but are in many cases absolutely inconsistent with them. They seem to have pro-

ceeded upon a principle just the very reverse of the position above laid down by the author, and to have altered the theories of Adam Smith upon pure speculation; and not because they do not accord with facts and experience.

The Treatise is divided into four parts—

I. The Definition and History of the Science.

II. The Production of Wealth.

III. The Distribution of Wealth.

IV. The Consumption of Wealth.

We shall make some remarks on the principles laid down in each of these parts.

The author begins with a definition of the science, to which we see no objection, although we do not think that it expresses so clearly and happily the precise object in view as the title of Adam Smith's work. He then notices the importance of making a proper distinction between value in exchange, and utility. In this we entirely agree with him, and have always thought that M. Say, whose opinions seem chiefly to be alluded to, by applying *utility* in a sense altogether inconsistent with the common meaning of the term, has obscured a part of the subject which was before sufficiently clear: we were not, however, aware that Mr. Malthus, whose name is coupled with that of M. Say, had fallen into a similar error. Our impression is, that he has adhered to the distinction stated by Adam Smith, which is plain and intelligible, and requires neither the rejection nor the alteration of common terms—changes which it is always desirable to avoid, unless really necessary.

The author next proceeds to the definition of the term wealth; and here he has made a useful addition to the definition of Mr. Malthus. He says, Mr. Malthus has defined wealth to consist of 'those material objects which are necessary, useful, or agreeable to man'—(p. 217.) but that this definition is too comprehensive, as it would include such material products as atmospheric air, and the heat of the sun, which are highly useful and agreeable, yet, by universal consent, are excluded from the investigations of political economy: he proposes, therefore, to limit the definition of wealth to those objects alone which have exchangeable value, and it will then stand thus, *those material products which have exchangeable value, and which are either necessary, useful, or agreeable to man*; and to this definition we see no objection.

The author is very decided, as to the propriety of confining the definition of wealth to *material objects*, as the following passage will show. Having observed that some economists had considered

considered wealth as synonymous with *all that man desires as useful and agreeable to him*, he goes on to say,—

‘But if political economy were to embrace a discussion of the production and distribution of all that is useful and agreeable, it would include within itself every other science; and the best Encyclopædia would really be the best treatise on political economy. Good health is useful and delightful; and, therefore, on this hypothesis the science of wealth ought to comprehend the science of medicine. Civil and religious liberty are highly useful, and, therefore, the science of wealth must comprehend the science of politics. Good acting is agreeable, and therefore, to be complete, the science of wealth must embrace a discussion of the principles of the histrionic art, and so on. Such definitions are worse than useless. They can have no effect but to generate confused and perplexed notions respecting the objects and limits of the science, and to prevent the student ever acquiring a clear and distinct idea of the nature of the inquiries in which he is engaged.’
—p. 217.

In all this we agree with the author, and the author agrees with Adam Smith: we were, therefore, greatly surprised to find him afterwards totally differing on a point so very closely connected with the definition of wealth, as the definition of productive labour. To us, indeed, it appears that the term productive labour, when used in an *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, is absolutely unmeaning and useless, unless it be applied, according to the intention of Adam Smith, to signify the labour which is directly productive of wealth; and if the term wealth be confined to material products, this must be the labour which is so fixed and realized on these products as to be estimated in their value when they become the subjects of exchange. But, according to our author, this distinction is ill-founded: let him, however, speak for himself. Having quoted the passage of Adam Smith, in which he clearly explains the difference between what he has denominated productive, and what unproductive labour, he thus proceeds:—

‘Such are the opinions of Dr. Smith, and it will not we think be very difficult to show the fallacy of the distinctions he has endeavoured to establish between the labour, and consequently, also the consumption of the different classes of society. To begin with the case of the menial servant:—Dr. Smith says that his labour is unproductive, because it is not realized in a vendible commodity, while the labour of the manufacturer is productive, because it is so realized. But of what, may we ask, is the labour of the manufacturer really productive? does it not consist exclusively of comforts and conveniences required for the use and accommodation of society? The manufacturer is not a producer of matter, but of utility only; and is it not obvious that the labour of the menial servant is also productive of utility? If, for example,

ample, the labour expended in converting the wool of the sheep into a coat be, as it unquestionably is, productive; then surely the labour expended in brushing and cleaning the coat, and rendering it fit to be worn, must be so too. It is universally allowed that the labour of the husbandman in raising corn, beef, and other articles of provision is productive; but, if so, why is the labour of the menial servant, who performs the *necessary* and indispensable task of preparing and dressing these articles, and fitting them to be used, to be stigmatized as unproductive? It is clear to demonstration, that there is no difference whatever between the two species of industry, that they are both productive or both unproductive. To produce a fire, is it not just as necessary that coals should be carried from the cellar to the grate, as that they should be carried from the bottom of the mine to the surface of the earth? and if it be said that the miner is a productive labourer, must we not also say the same of the servant who is employed to make and mend the fire? The whole of Dr. Smith's reasoning proceeds on a false hypothesis. He has made a distinction where there is none, and where *there can be none*. The end of all human exertion is the same—that is, to increase the sum of necessities, comforts, and enjoyments; and it must be left to the judgment of every man to determine what proportion of these comforts he will have in the shape of menial services, and what in the shape of material products. It is an error to suppose that a man is impoverished by maintaining menial servants, any more than by indulging in any other species of expense. It is true he will be ruined if he keeps more servants than he has occasion for, or than he can afford to pay; but his ruin would be equally certain were he to purchase an excess of food or clothes, or to employ more workmen in any branch of manufacture than are required to carry it on, or than his capital can employ. To keep two ploughmen when one might suffice, is just as improvident and wasteful expenditure as to keep two footmen to do the business of one. It is in the extravagant quantity of the commodities we consume, or of the labour we employ, and not in the particular species of commodities or labour that we must seek for the causes of impoverishment.—p. 274.

This passage appears to us to be totally inconsistent with that which we before quoted respecting wealth, and to merit all the severity of remark which was applied by the writer to those political economists who do not confine wealth to *material objects*. If the production of utility and enjoyment, as here stated, be the point in question, then, beyond all doubt, not only the labour of the menial servant is productive, as well as that of the manufacturer, but the exertion necessary to learn to dance, to get to a pleasant party, to read the public papers, or to acquire any useful or agreeable kind of accomplishment or information, must come under the same denomination.

But when Adam Smith gave his definition of productive labour, he obviously did not mean to refer simply to utility and enjoyment,
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but to *wealth*; that is, to the utility and enjoyment resulting from *material products*. He most expressly, indeed, notices the high utility and importance of many other kinds of labour besides those which he has denominated productive, and had not the slightest idea of *stigmatizing* them, as the use of this expression by the author would imply. Could he, indeed, for a moment doubt that the labours of a just magistrate, a skilful physician, or an able legislator, were, beyond comparison, more *useful* than the labour of the lace-maker? We have not the least objection to agree with the author in saying that 'the end of all human exertions is the same; that is, to increase the sum of necessities, comforts and enjoyments:' but if political economy be, as he states, 'the science of the laws which regulate the *production*, distribution and consumption of those *material products* which have exchangeable value, and are either necessary, useful, or agreeable to man,' then it is certain that the term production, or productive labour, as it ought to be used in the science of political economy, can only apply to the labour which increases the quantity or value of material products.

That in this classification there may be a few anomalous cases we are perfectly ready to admit, but we hardly know what classification is without them. It is true that the labours of some menial servants sometimes increase the value of material products; but the amount of this value, as it affects the wealth of the society, never comes to be estimated, like the labours of the agriculturist, the manufacturer, the carrier, and the shopman; and even if it could be estimated, it would be found so trifling compared with *the material products consumed by them*, that as a class their labour may most fairly be denominated unproductive. In fact, menial service, when most like productive labour, may be characterized as assisting in the convenient and agreeable *consumption* of wealth, and not essentially in its production. But what puts the matter beyond doubt, and makes a very marked and striking distinction between them is, that menial service is always employed by revenue with a view to consumption and enjoyment, and never by capital with a view to production and profit; and as this is the only intelligible and useful distinction between unproductive and productive consumption, it is clear that menial servants, even when they most resemble productive labourers, must come under the head of unproductive consumers. It may be true, as stated by the author, that 'to keep two ploughmen where one only might suffice, is just as improvident and wasteful expenditure as it is to keep two footmen to do the work of one.' But the agriculturists who raise corn with a view to profit are in no danger of offending in this way; whereas

the rich landlord, who keeps menial servants with a view to gratification and sumptuous expenditure, almost always maintains much greater numbers than are necessary to keep in order and prepare for immediate use his material products. Dr. Clarke, in his *Travels in Russia*, says, if we recollect right, that some of the Russian noblemen of Petersburg and Moscow keep one or two hundred servants and attendants of various kinds. This would be generally thought much more than sufficient. Yet we agree with the author, that it must be left to the judgment of every man to determine what proportion of comforts he will have in the shape of menial services and what in the shape of material products. We agree with him also that it is an error to suppose that a man is impoverished by maintaining menial servants any more than by indulging in any other species of expense. Though he is no doubt likely to be ruined if he employs more servants than he can pay, yet a rich landlord may employ forty servants to do the work of four, and still live decidedly within his income. To the income of the individual it matters not whether the same sum be laid out in the maintenance of menial servants and followers, or in the material products of carpets, curtains, and carriages. But Adam Smith was inquiring about the *causes* of the wealth of nations; and if wealth consist, as our author allows, of material products, then one of the most powerful causes of wealth must be the general prevalence of such a taste for material products as will occasion the employment of a great and increasing quantity of that kind of labour which produces them. It is true that there would be no use in employing a greater quantity of productive labour than is necessary to supply the demands of society for material products. We must wait the inclinations of the owners of property: and as we cannot force them to prefer the results of one kind of labour to those of another, the capitalists would be very unwise to ruin themselves in the attempt. But that the difference between the two kinds of labour consists in *quality* and not in *quantity* is further manifest from this, that there is scarcely any amount of demand for the results of productive labour which would not tend very greatly to increase the wealth of a nation, or the quantity and value of its produce; whereas a great preference of the results of unproductive labour or a great demand for menial servants and followers, would destroy more than half of the capitals which are generally employed by a rich and prosperous country in manufactures, and in domestic and foreign commerce, and leave it merely with its landlords surrounded by poor dependants. And yet it is said that Adam Smith has made a distinction where there is none, and can be none!

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With regard to the labour *indirectly* productive of material objects, which the author seems to consider in the same light as if it were *directly* productive, (p. 275.) we really believe that there is scarcely any exertion, and certainly not any regular consumption, which may not be shown to come under this head. If the exertions of the physician are to be considered as productive according to our author, because he has been instrumental in preserving the health or saving the life of an Arkwright or Watt, that is, of some of those who increase the value of material objects, we do not know how indirect productiveness can be denied to the walks, rides, and drives which are instrumental in preserving the health, strength, and lives of all the productive labourers of Adam Smith. And, with regard to consumption, it must be allowed to be so decidedly the *indirect* cause of all production, except that of the spontaneous fruits of the earth, that it cannot but have the most extensive and powerful operation, *indirectly*, in increasing the mass of material wealth. But if, because it is true, that the end of all human exertion is the same, that is, to gratify some want or wish of mankind, we are to make no distinction between exercise for health and the labours of the loom, or between the act of consumption and the act of production, in an inquiry into the *nature and causes of the wealth of nations*, we are totally at a loss to conceive how the student in political economy is to explain the effect of capital in increasing national wealth, the operation of saving as distinguished from spending, and the causes which make the balance of produce exceed that of consumption. Surely, to a description of productive labour which leads to such results, the observations, which, as we have seen, the author himself makes on some of the vague descriptions of wealth, may most justly be applied: 'Such definitions are obviously worse than useless: they have no effect but to generate confused and perplexed notions respecting the objects and limits of the science, and to prevent the student ever acquiring a clear and distinct idea of the nature of the inquiries in which he is engaged.'—(p. 217.)

On the other hand, the definition which Adam Smith gives of productive labour is not only quite consistent with the definition of wealth, which is of great importance, but it is at once as distinctly marked as such subjects will admit of, and in the highest degree useful. It amounts in substance to this. Having defined wealth to be the material products, possessing exchangeable value, which are necessary, useful, and agreeable to man, productive labour is that labour which is so directly productive of wealth as to be estimated in the value of the objects produced. This naturally includes the labours of carriers, shopmen, and of all those persons who are paid by capital, and give a definite in-

crease of value to material products; while all those exertions the results of which are immaterial, indirect, or indefinite, are excluded. And having thus got a name for the labour which is directly productive of wealth, we may proceed with much more clearness in our inquiries into the quantity of unproductive labour or of unproductive consumption, which may be necessary in a flourishing society, either on account of its great intrinsic utility, or its tendency to increase the demand for material products.

We have to apologize to our readers for going at once from the beginning to the end of the treatise, in the discussion of this subject; but we consider the definition of wealth and of productive labour as so very closely connected, that they cannot with propriety be treated separately.

The author begins the second division of his Treatise with a definition of *production*, which he says is never 'the production of matter, for that is exclusively the attribute of Omnipotence, but the production of utility, and consequently of exchangeable value.'—(p. 234.) This may be strictly true; but, as Adam Smith had before called those modifications of matter which adapt it to the various tastes and wants of society, *production*, we see no advantage in the change of terms. On the contrary, it appears to us obviously calculated to mislead; because exchangeable value is never proportioned to utility, though it may be to the tastes and wants of society. The cobweb piece of muslin, produced by a great quantity of labour and skill, is not nearly so *useful*, according to the natural and common acceptation of the term, as a piece of cotton obtained by a third part of the exertion; yet the former would unquestionably be considered as the production of the greater amount of wealth. This is exactly the error into which M. Say has fallen, and which the author had before noticed with disapprobation.

The author next proceeds to insist very strongly, on labour being the only source of *wealth*, and to assert that the earth, 'however paradoxical it may at first sight appear, is not a source of wealth.'—(p. 235.) He says that, 'independently of labour, matter is rarely of any use whatever, and is never of any value. Place us on the banks of a river, or in an orchard, and we shall infallibly perish either of thirst or hunger, if we do not, by an effort of industry, raise the water to our lips, or pluck the fruit from its parent tree.' This last position we are most ready to admit, but we cannot think it follows from it, that labour is the only source of wealth. If it were indeed the sole source of wealth, the legitimate conclusion would be, that wealth might be produced without the assistance of land; yet we strongly suspect that, if we were to make the same *effort of industry* in a place
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where the earth had not been the source of water or apples, such a degree of labour would do but little towards saving us from thirst or hunger. It is necessary to exert much more labour than the effort of industry here described to obtain the use of silver and gold; but to say that human labour is the sole source of these metals would surely be a most strange and useless perversion of terms. As well might we say, when two men were co-operating in carrying a log of wood, which was too heavy for either of them separately, that one was the sole carrier, because, without the effort of industry made by him, the log might have remained unmoved and useless. We totally disapprove of such futile and unnecessary attempts at simplification. We are disposed to consider labour as a most essential source of wealth; but knowing, with Adam Smith, the absolute necessity of the co-operation of land to give us food, clothing, lodging, &c. &c. we see no kind of reason why we should not acknowledge, with him, what is so obviously true, that both land and labour are sources of wealth.

It is not our intention to notice, among much that is good, in this and the other divisions of the treatise, all the passages in which we think the author has unnecessarily deviated from Adam Smith, or has otherwise advanced propositions which are unfounded. Our chief object is to call the attention of the reader to some of the main principles which characterize what may be called the new school of political economy, as contradistinguished from that of Adam Smith. But before we proceed more especially to this subject, we cannot refrain from adverting to a passage quoted in this division of the treatise, of which it is said, 'this is perhaps the most objectionable passage in the *Wealth of Nations*, and it is really astonishing how so acute and sagacious a reasoner as Dr. Smith could have maintained a doctrine so manifestly erroneous.'—(p. 249.) The passage is the following:—

'No equal quantity of productive labour or capital employed in manufactures can ever occasion so great a reproduction as if it were employed in agriculture. In manufactures nature does nothing, man does all, and the reproduction must always be in proportion to the strength of the agents that occasion it. The capital employed in agriculture, therefore, not only puts into motion a greater quantity of productive labour than any equal capital employed in manufactures, but in proportion too to the quantity of productive labour which it employs it adds a much greater value to the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, to the real wealth and revenue of the inhabitants. Of all the ways in which a capital can be employed it is by far the most advantageous to the society.'—(B. II. c. v.)

Now, admitting that Adam Smith has in one part of this passage

sage underrated the operations of nature in manufactures, perhaps because he might think, with the author of this treatise, that political economy was the '*science of values*,' (p. 216.)—and that, as the boundless gifts of nature confer no value, he was not called upon to consider them; yet we maintain that, in the principal part of the passage, he is fully justified in what he has said, and that it is strictly and most incontrovertibly true that 'the capital employed in agriculture, in proportion to the quantity of labour which it puts in motion, adds a *much greater value* to the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, to the real wealth and revenue of its inhabitants, than any equal capital employed in manufactures.'

Adam Smith evidently does not here refer, nor ought he in this case to refer, to the returns of the *last* capital employed on the land, but to *all* the capital employed on the land; and unless we are prepared to affirm that wrought cotton, worth a hundred pounds, is of more value or confers greater wealth than raw produce worth a hundred pounds, we shall be compelled to acknowledge that the whole of the labour and capital employed to obtain the whole of our raw produce, bears a much less proportion to the value of that produce, than the whole of the labour and capital employed to obtain the whole of our manufactures does to the value of those manufactures; and consequently, that a given quantity of labour employed on the land, taking an average of the rich and poor land together, is actually productive of a *greater value and revenue* than the same quantity of labour employed in manufactures; which is the statement of Adam Smith. Nor do we see that he has shewn a greater want of sagacity in attributing more importance to that species of industry which is the prime mover of the whole, and without which every thing would stop, than the man who might naturally enough be tempted to consider the main spring of a watch as of more importance to its movement than some of the subordinate wheels, or its ornaments. The sweeping generalizations which make no difference in the different parts of a work that co-operate to form a whole, appear to us, we confess, to be fatal to all clear explanation of the means by which the final result is attained. We feel certain, at least, that if the watchmaker, the anatomist, and the natural philosopher, were to proceed in this way, they would dreadfully confuse their pupils; and we do not see why it should be different with the political economist. To establish the very great importance of manufactures it is not necessary to deny the superior importance of food and raw materials. Yet it does not at all follow, nor is it considered as a consequence by Adam Smith, that any forced

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encouragement should be given to agriculture, which would probably defeat the very end in view.

The author further observes on this subject, that

‘The rent of the landlord is not, as Dr. Smith conceives it to be, the recompence of the work of nature remaining after all that part of the produce is deducted which can be regarded as the work of man. But it is, as we shall hereafter show, the excess of the produce obtained from the best soils in cultivation over that which is obtained from the worst.’ —(p. 250.)

Now, even allowing this last position of the author, we do not see how it essentially contradicts that of Adam Smith. Let us suppose two nations with exactly the same rate of profits and corn wages, but that one had previously cultivated a large quantity of very fertile land, while the whole of the land cultivated by the other was little better than the poorest then in use. Would not the prodigious difference which would exist in the rents of the two countries in this case be clearly attributable to the excess of the produce above what was necessary to pay the labour of man? and would not this excess arise from the natural fertility of the soil, or the work of nature? An approximation to this state of things is indeed by no means uncommon. In countries which have been long peopled, the returns of the last capital employed on the land are more nearly the same than the productiveness of the richest lands which have been cultivated. Independently of the great difference of natural fertility, it is certain that with every increase of skill and saving of labour, the mass of rich lands becomes more productive, compared with the labour employed upon it, while these improvements enable the farmer gradually to cultivate poorer lands with the same returns, so that the difference between the most productive and the least productive capitals employed on the land may be increasing for a century together without any diminution in the quantity of produce divided between the labourer and capitalist, or any essential rise in the value of corn. In fact, this is what has really taken place in our own country during the last hundred years. The severity of remark, therefore, upon Adam Smith on account of the passage above quoted, seems to be by no means warranted.

We now proceed to consider the main principles which more especially characterize the new school of political economy. These appear to be three.

1. That the quantity of labour worked up in commodities determines their exchangeable value.

2. That the demand and supply have no effect upon prices and values, except in cases of monopoly or for short periods of time.

3. That

3. That the difficulty of production on the land is the regulator of profits, to the entire exclusion of the cause stated by Adam Smith, namely, the relative abundance and competition of capital.

The first of these principles is maintained partly in the second division of the treatise and partly in the third, and the inferences from it naturally run through the whole.

In page 237 of the second division, the author says, 'It is to labour therefore, and labour only, that man owes every thing possessed of exchangeable value.' And a little farther on he observes, 'having established this fundamental principle, having shown that it is labour only that gives exchangeable value to commodities, it is plain, &c. &c.'

In the beginning of the third division, he states repeatedly and strongly, that in the early periods of society when the whole produce of labour belonged to the labourer, the quantity of labour which had been expended in the procuring of different articles, would form the only standard by which their relative worth or exchangeable value could be estimated.—(p. 253.) He quotes Adam Smith, who says exactly the same thing; he then adds, 'thus, far there is no room for doubt or difference of opinion;' and as, in this case, labour would be the sole condition of the supply of commodities, we are fully prepared to agree with him. Setting out from this point, he proceeds to investigate the laws which regulate the exchangeable value of commodities in an advanced period of society; and after an inquiry of considerable length concludes as follows, 'the analysis we have now completed shows that labour is not only essential to the existence of exchangeable value, but that it is, in every stage of society, from the rudest to the most improved, *the single and only principle which enters into its composition.*'—(p. 268.)

We are in no degree disposed to underrate the prodigious effect of the labour employed to produce a commodity in determining its exchangeable value even in the most improved stages of society. Of whatever other elements this value may be composed, the labour worked up in it must at all times be beyond comparison the most influential. It would indeed be most absurd to compare generally the difference of value occasioned by any other ingredient to the difference occasioned by the quantity of labour employed being that of one day, one hundred days, or one thousand days. This is so very obvious as scarcely to require stating. But though the labour worked up in a commodity is thus allowed to be beyond comparison the main ingredient of value; yet if there really are other ingredients, and they are at the same

same time of such a nature as essentially to encourage or discourage production, and thus operate powerfully on the progress of wealth, it would be inexcusable in the political economist, from a desire of simplification, not to allow them their separate and due weight.

Adam Smith, in his chapter on the Component Parts of Price, (B. i. c. 5.) resolves the price of the great mass of commodities in every improved society into wages, profits, and rent. And in his next chapter, he considers natural price as made up of wages, profits, and rents, each at their ordinary and natural rates.* There is obviously in every society, as stated by Adam Smith, an ordinary or natural rate of wages and profits; but it is not the same with rents. On account of the very different fertility of different soils in the same country, the portion of the produce of land which is resolvable into rent, is extremely various. Sometimes it is a half, a third, or a fourth, and sometimes little or nothing. But if the price of a bushel of corn be the same, whether it be resolvable into more or less rent, rent cannot have much influence in determining its exchangeable value; and we think, on the whole, that satisfactory reasons have been given why, in tracing the causes of exchangeable value, in reference to the most important commodities, rent may be considered as having only a very inconsiderable effect.

But supposing this to be allowed, and the influence of rent on value excluded, as the author would wish, profits will still be left, besides wages or labour. And it remains to be considered whether profits do or do not influence, and if they do, to what extent they influence, the exchangeable value of commodities.

The author has distinctly allowed, that in the early periods of society, when labour alone is concerned in production and the returns are almost immediate, the value of commodities so obtained is determined by the quantity of labour employed to obtain them. But in every stage of society there are a few commodities which are obtained nearly in the same way; and if the value of these commodities, where no profits are concerned, may be correctly

* 'These three parts seem either immediately or ultimately to make up the price of corn. A fourth part, it may perhaps be thought, is necessary for replacing the stock of the farmer, or for compensating the wear and tear of his labouring cattle, and other instruments of husbandry. But it must be considered that the price of any instrument of husbandry, such as a labouring horse, is itself made up of the same three parts, the rent of the land upon which he is reared, the labour of tending and rearing him, and the profits of the farmer who advances both the rent of this land, and the wages of this labour. Though the price of the corn, therefore, may pay the price as well as the maintenance of the horse, the whole price still resolves itself either immediately or ultimately into the same three parts of rent, labour, and profit.' (*Wealth of Nations*, B. i. c. vi.)—Consequently, if it appear that rent has little effect on price, the whole will be determined by labour and profits.

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estimated by the quantity of labour employed to obtain them, we may make a fair calculation of the additional value given by profits, by comparing the value of such commodities with the value of those where profits have entered as a component part.

If, for instance, a useful stone inclosure, built from materials on the spot, were constructed in eight days by fifty common masons paid at half-a-crown a-day, the inclosure, when completed and fit for use, would, on account of the very small quantity of profits concerned, be worth but little more than the labour employed on upon it, that is, 400 days, or, in money, fifty pounds. Now, if we suppose a pipe of wine to be worth, when it is first put into the cask, exactly the same quantity of labour, and money, but that it is to be kept two years before it is used, and that the rate of profits is fifteen per cent., it is obvious that, at the expiration of that time, it must be sold at above £65, or its value must be above 520 days instead of 400 days labour, in order that the conditions of its supply may be fulfilled. We have here, then, two commodities which, by the hypothesis, have had the same quantity of labour employed upon them, and yet the exchangeable value of one of them exceeds that of the other above 30 per cent., on account of the very different quantity of profits worked up in each.

Now let us suppose that the rate of profits falls from 15 per cent. to 6 per cent., then the value of the article, in which profits had very little concern, would remain nearly the same, the conditions of its supply being nearly the same; while the conditions of the supply of the wine will have so essentially altered, without the slightest alteration in its quality, that, instead of being worth above 30 per cent. more than the walls, it would now only be worth a little above 12 per cent. more.

These cases are far from being merely imaginary. Wine is frequently kept much more than two years. Ships are often much above two years in building. The final returns for the commodities which purchase teas in China, reckoning from the period when the first advances required to produce them were made, can hardly be less than that period; and the same may be said of the wrought cottons sold in India after the raw material had been brought from that quarter of the globe and worked up in England. Of some other articles of exchange, particularly coppice-wood and timber, the proportion of the value resolvable into profits is very much larger; while it is universally allowed that the quantity of profits which enters into the composition of commodities, is greatly increased in all cases of an increase of fixed capital as compared with circulating. On the other hand, though, in an improved society, there are but few commodities in which

which labour is concerned exclusively, yet there are some; and there are unquestionably a great many where the tools are so cheap and the returns so little distant, that the profits on the advances necessary to such productions form but a small part of their exchangeable value. In short, the conditions of the supply of commodities at the same period in improved countries, with reference to the quantity of profits which must be repaid in their value when sold, are extremely various; and though it does not often happen that, in short periods, profits fall from 15 per cent. to 6 per cent., yet in the progress of nations greater changes must necessarily occur; and taking only what really happens, we are strongly disposed to believe that the variations of value arising from profits are in many commodities frequently more than 20 per cent., and that variations of 10 or 12 per cent. are common. How then can it be asserted that commodities exchange with each other according to the quantity of labour worked up in them? As far as we can trust our senses, the fact is notoriously otherwise.

The author, however, says, that 'the profits of stock are only another name for the wages of accumulated labour.'—(p. 263.) And it is no doubt true, that if the value of commodities be resolvable into wages and profits, and profits be only another name for wages, the whole is resolvable into wages. It is equally true, that if five be another name for four, two and two will equal five. But whether it will not tend to confuse matters either to consider five as another name for four, or profits as another name for wages, deserves our serious consideration.

We have always understood the wages of labour to mean the remuneration paid for some kind of human exertion; and it is certain that the accumulated labour worked up in machinery, raw materials, or any other species of capital, is just of the same nature as immediate labour, and paid for exactly in the same way: but the profits both upon the accumulated labour and the direct labour are totally a different kind of thing, and obey a different set of laws. This is justly and strongly stated by Adam Smith. He observes, 'the profits of stock, it may perhaps be thought, are only a different name for the wages of a particular sort of labour, the labour of inspection and direction. They are, however, altogether different, are regulated by quite different principles, and bear no proportion to the quantity, hardship and ingenuity of this supposed labour of inspection and direction.' He then proceeds to explain the nature of the fundamental distinction between profits and wages; and concludes as follows: 'in the price of commodities, therefore, the profits of stock constitute a component part altogether different from the wages

wages of labour, and regulated by quite different principles:— (B. II. c. vi.) In this view of the subject we entirely agree with Adam Smith. But perhaps the author means to place it in a different light. In replying to a case urged by Colonel Torrens, he seems to intimate that the effect of capital employed to keep a cask of wine till it is fit for drinking, is to set in motion the agency of nature, or the processes which she carries on in the casks, instead of the agency, or the labour of men: and that the only difference is in the agents employed.—(p. 268.) But the assistance of nature to give this kind of improvement to wine is at the command of every one who has capital, and certainly, therefore, requires no wages; and that in this case she gives her labour gratis, is quite clear from this, that the increased value which the wine acquires is in no degree proportioned to the efficiency of her workmanship, as is mainly the case in rents, but is entirely regulated by the time during which the returns of the capital are delayed, and the ordinary rate of profits. We have already seen, that an alteration in the rate of profits from 15 to 6 per cent. would make the value of a cask of wine, after being kept two years, compared with its value when first put into the cask, fall from 30 per cent. to 12 per cent., while the processes of nature remained unchanged: and it is quite certain, that all wine kept for two years must be paid for at the same price, whether it improved by keeping or not, provided that the keeping of all wines were enforced, and the returns of the capital employed on them were delayed, for that period, by an arbitrary decree.

In no view of the subject, therefore, is there the slightest ground for confounding the profits of stock with the wages of labour: yet without this strange and most uncalled for misnomer, how is it possible to say that commodities exchange with each other according to the quantity of labour worked up in them, that is, that fifty pounds worth of kept wine has had the same quantity of labour worked up in it, as fifty pounds worth of stone walls sold as soon as built? or that fifty pounds worth of young firs planted thirty years ago on a barren heath had cost in their production the same quantity of labour as fifty pounds worth of Scotch pebbles picked up on the sea shore, or fifty pounds worth of straw plat?

Cases of this kind are, indeed, so numerous and palpable, that they force themselves to be acknowledged. Very large concessions and modifications were, in consequence, repeatedly made by Mr. Ricardo, which, though not sufficient to meet the real truth, are quite sufficient to destroy the assumption that the products of the same quantity of labour in the same country, always remain of the same value. And it is certainly most remarkable

that,

that, in the last edition of his work, after having introduced modifications which he himself calls *considerable*, he should have the following passage, which we believe is a new one:—

‘It is necessary for me to remark that I have not said, because one commodity has so much labour bestowed upon it as will cost £1,000, and another so much as will cost £2,000, that, therefore, one would be of the value of £1,000 and the other of the value of £2,000; but I have said that, their value will be to each other as two to one, and that in these proportions they will be exchanged. It is of no importance to the truth of this doctrine whether one of these commodities sells for £1,100 and the other for £2,200; or one for £1,500 and the other for £3,000; into that question I do not at present inquire. I affirm only, that their relative values will be governed by the relative quantities of labour bestowed on their production.’—(c. i. p. 46.)

And on this assumption, so contrary to our every-day experience, the whole of the calculations and reasonings throughout the remaining part of the work is founded; although, in two sections of the first chapter expressly devoted to the subject, it is specifically allowed, that the principle that the quantity of labour bestowed on commodities regulates their relative value, is *considerably* modified both by the employment of machinery, and by the unequal rapidity of the returns of capital to its employer.

Similar concessions are made in the present treatise. It is stated that, when wages rise and profits fall, one large class of commodities will fall in exchangeable value, another will rise, and a third will remain the same (p. 265.); and it is rather oddly proposed to lump them all together, and to assume that, notwithstanding these changes, the products of the same quantity of labour always remain of the same value. If we want to know the general price of corn during a certain period, or even the general rate of profits, it may be well enough to take an average; but if our object be to ascertain the effects of the *seasons* on the price of corn, it would surely be passing strange to resort to the same proceeding: and it appears to us, we confess, equally strange to propose the taking of an average, when the specific object of our inquiry is to ascertain the effects of the varying quantity and varying rate of profits on the value of the products of the same quantity of human labour. Very considerable effects of this kind are most distinctly acknowledged by our author, varying according to the amount of profits worked up in different commodities, compared with the amount worked up in that commodity which is taken as their measure. They prove incontrovertibly that the cases of exception to the rule are, both in theory and in fact, beyond comparison more numerous than the cases in which the rule holds true. It is therefore absolutely inconceivable

to us, on what ground, other than that of utterly confounding all distinction between wages and profits, the author could arrive at the conclusion before adverted to on the subject of *value*, namely, that labour 'is, in every stage of society, from the rudest to the most improved, the single and only principle which enters into its composition.' (p. 268.) We trust that we have shown that this doctrine, which peculiarly characterizes the new school of political economy, and from which all their peculiar tenets flow, is a most unwarranted deviation from Adam Smith, and rests on no solid foundation. But this truth will still more fully appear as we proceed to examine the two other most important principles which flow from it.

The second principle which we proposed to consider is, that demand and supply have no influence on prices and values, except in cases of monopoly, or for short periods of time.

On this subject the author is very decided in his opinion. Having referred to the admirable chapters of Adam Smith, in which, as it is justly observed, the general equality of wages and profits was first fully demonstrated; he goes on to say,—

'The principle of the equality of wages and profits once established, it is easy to show that variations in the demand and supply of commodities can exert no lasting influence on price. It is the *cost of production*, denominated by Smith and the Marquis Garnier *necessary or natural price*, which is the permanent and ultimate regulator of the exchangeable value or price of every commodity which is not subjected to a monopoly, and which may be indefinitely increased in quantity by the application of fresh capital and labour to its production.'—(p. 255.)

He then enters into the subject at considerable length; but as the passage we have quoted clearly expresses the substance of the doctrine, it will be sufficient for our purpose.

Though we cannot by any means accede to the statement that demand and supply exert no lasting influence on price; yet we are very willing to allow that the natural prices of commodities are determined by the natural costs of production, according to the meaning of the term, as used by Adam Smith, or even after we have excluded the effects of rents: but as profits will still remain a component part of price, it is absolutely necessary, before we can exclude demand and supply from a lasting influence on exchangeable value, to show that they can have no influence on the natural rate of profits. Adam Smith, in using the term natural rate of wages and profits, says, that he means by it 'the ordinary or average rate which is found in every society or neighbourhood, and which is regulated partly by the general circumstances of the society, their riches or poverty; their advancing, stationary, or declining conditions; and partly by the particular nature of each employment.'

employment.' This reference to the varying circumstances of the society strongly savours of the effects of demand and supply; and, by ordinary and average profits, cannot be meant an average for fifty or a hundred years, but an average of the varying profits of the time, as long as they are sufficient to encourage the employment of capital by the owners of stock. An average of ten or a dozen years, therefore, may fairly be considered as sufficient or more than sufficient to determine the ordinary rate of profits. But it is a matter of universal notoriety that, in the progress of a nation towards wealth, considerable fluctuations take place in the rate of profits for ten, twelve, or twenty years together out of one or two hundred: and the question is, to what cause or causes these fluctuations are mainly to be attributed.

Of all the truths which Mr. Ricardo has established, one of the most useful and important is, that profits are determined by the proportion of the whole produce which goes to labour. It is, indeed, a direct corollary from the proposition, that the value of commodities is resolvable into wages and profits; but its simplicity and apparent obviousness do not detract from its utility. It is, however, only one important step in the theory of profits, which of course cannot be complete till we have ascertained the cause which, under all circumstances, regulates this proportion of the whole produce which goes to labour immediate and accumulated.

When the productiveness of labour employed on the land is continually diminishing, it is easy to see that the corn wages of labour cannot go on diminishing in the same degree without starving the labourer; and that, therefore, of the produce of the same quantity of labour, a greater proportion must go to labour and less to profits. But we know, from experience, that the operation of this cause may be suspended by improvements in agriculture, for a hundred years together; and we are to inquire what it is which, independently of this cause, determines the proportion in which the produce of a given quantity of labour is divided between labour and profits. On this important point the present treatise is silent;* but the prevailing opinion is, that it depends upon the greater or less demand for labour. If this opinion were correct, it would still show that the rate of profits must, so far, depend upon the principle of demand and supply. It appears, however, from experience, to depend rather upon the demand and supply of *produce*, than of labour. And it will be found that the specific reason which occasions a larger or smaller

* The author says, 'The limits to which this Article has already extended prevent our entering into an investigation of the various circumstances which determine the market rate of wages.' (p. 269.)

proportion of the produce of a given quantity of labour to go to labour, is the fall or rise in the value of the whole produce of such labour resulting from the temporary or ordinary state of the supply, compared with the demand. If we refer to the value of the whole produce of a given quantity of labour, this proposition is true, whatever may be the variations in the productiveness of labour; but if we are considering the value of a given quantity of produce as determining profits, we must refer to the state of the demand and supply, while the productiveness of labour remains the same.

Thus, to take one of the most familiar cases: if cottons fall in value from an abundant supply, not occasioned by improved machinery, will not a larger proportion of the produce of the same quantity of accumulated and immediate labour be necessary to repay that labour? and will not a smaller proportion be left for profits, although, instead of an increased demand for labour, the capitalist will neither have the power nor the will to employ so much as before? On the other hand, if cottons rise in value from a diminished supply, not occasioned by the diminished productiveness of labour, will not a smaller proportion of the produce of the same quantity of accumulated and immediate labour go to repay that labour? and will not a larger proportion of the produce be left for profits, although, instead of a diminished demand for labour, the capitalists will have both the power and the will to employ more labour? It appears, therefore, that in these cases of varying profits, it is specifically the varying state of the demand compared with the supply of produce while the productiveness of labour remains the same, which determines them. And does it not follow that the ordinary state of profits, or the ordinary *proportion* of the produce which goes to repay the advances of accumulated and immediate labour necessary to obtain it, is determined by the ordinary state of the demand compared with the supply of such produce?

But to make this important point more clear, let us consider what is meant by the amount of effectual demand, in the simplest form which it can assume so as to be correct. Adam Smith says, very justly, that labour was the original purchase-money of all commodities. If certain commodities were the objects of desire, but not attainable without a good deal of exertion, the person so desiring them would or would not have an effectual demand for them according as he was able and willing to purchase them with the necessary sacrifice of labour; and the quantity of labour which he was able and willing to give for them, might, with propriety, be considered as the amount of his demand; while the supply would depend upon the quantity of such commodities

which

which the labour applied to obtain them could procure. In this case, it is obvious that the value of the articles would be as the demand directly and the supply inversely, or each article would be worth the quantity of labour which would arise from dividing the amount of labour employed by the amount of the articles obtained.

We have here supposed the returns to be rapid, and immediate labour only to be employed. But supposing the returns of some commodities to be necessarily very much slower than those of others, and further to require for their production expensive tools, or some form of accumulated labour; is it not quite certain that these commodities would be more scarce and valuable compared with the quantity of human labour worked up in them, than the commodities produced and brought to market rapidly? There would, in this case, be two causes influencing the supply of the commodities obtained by the same quantity of human labour: first, the productiveness of such labour; and, secondly, the plenty or scarcity of those accumulations called capital, and the time for which it was necessary to employ them; and the supply of such commodities compared with a given quantity of immediate labour would cease to be proportioned to the productiveness of that labour, and would only be proportioned to its productiveness after subtracting what was necessary to repay the profits of the capital employed.

To make an effectual demand for commodities of this description, we must transfer to the owners of them the means of obtaining a quantity of labour equal to the accumulated and immediate labour worked up in them, with such an additional quantity as will compensate for the use of the capital employed according as it is plentiful or scarce, compared with immediate labour, and according as it has been employed for a short or a long time.

In this case, the quantity of immediate labour necessary to make an effectual demand for the commodities will exceed, in various degrees, the quantity of accumulated and immediate labour worked up in them. But it will still be strictly true that the value of the commodities will be as the demand, directly, and the supply inversely. In the same manner, if the palms, yams and bananas belonging to a chief of Otaheite were in great request, the demand for them would be represented, not by other commodities similarly circumstanced, nor by the very small quantity of labour which they had cost in production, but by the great quantity of labour and service, that original purchase-money which the inhabitants were able and willing to give him in order to obtain them; and their value would be determined by the demand directly, and

the supply inversely ; or the quantity of service offered divided by the quantity of produce received. This last is a case of monopoly ; but the value of all commodities is determined exactly in the same way, whether they are the subjects of any kind of monopoly, or of the freest competition ; whether they are produced by labour alone, or by labour and profits combined. In fact, all that is necessary to constitute value is, that a commodity should be wanted by more persons than can obtain it for nothing. When this is the case, some sacrifice must be made by the competitors. This sacrifice can seldom be measured with any approach towards precision by other commodities, the ever varying *products* of labour ; but it may be measured with tolerable exactness by labour itself ; that is, by the quantity of their own or of other people's labour of a given description, which the competitors are willing to offer ; and the value of the commodities to those whose demands are effectual, will be just in proportion to the amount of their demand, compared with the supply which they obtain.*

This may be considered as the universal proposition applicable in all cases, temporary and permanent, and in whatever way the commodity is produced. The other proposition, namely, that the value of commodities is determined by the costs of their production, is limited in various ways. In the first place, it necessarily involves the supposition that profits form a part of *costs* ; a supposition, the propriety of which has been controverted ; secondly, it refers always to the average and ordinary values of commodities, and not to the variations of their actual and market values ; and, thirdly, it is confined to commodities which are produced by free competition, and excludes all those which are affected by monopolies either strict or partial, either natural or artificial, which are more numerous than people are aware of. With these limitations, however, the proposition is unquestionably true, and for this specific reason, that, under the circumstances supposed, the necessary condition of the continued supply of commodities is, that the demand or the amount of labour offered for them, should be such as to replace their costs, or the quantity of labour and profits required to bring them to market. Their value evidently cannot long be less than this, and when the competition is free, it is not necessary to the supply that it should be greater. It appears, therefore, that the value of all commodities, whether regulated by the costs of production or not, is determined by the supply compared with the demand, and that, as a

* In civilized societies, where the precious metals are in use, a given demand may be safely represented by the variable quantity of money which will command a given quantity of labour of the same description : but it cannot be represented by any given quantity of commodities.

given

given demand may be represented by a given quantity of labour, the supply of commodities compared with this demand which determines their value, must, while the productiveness of labour remains unaltered, determine, at the same time, the proportion of the whole produce which goes to labour, or, under similar circumstances, the rate of profits.

It is now generally allowed that, in almost every department of industry, the labourer who is employed at the present average rate of money wages, receives a larger proportion of what he produces than he did during the war. It is almost as generally allowed that this is mainly occasioned by the abundance of the supply compared with the demand; and the natural and necessary consequence is, that fall of profits which is the subject of universal remark.

In referring, therefore, to the costs of production, including profits, as the regulating principle of price and value, instead of demand and supply, we really refer to two elements, one of which is essentially determined in its value by the demand and supply. Independently of any question relating to the greater or less productiveness of labour, the costs of production, including profits, have diminished during the last eight or nine years, owing to a fall in the value of profits occasioned by the state of the demand and supply. Thus, the hardware, which in reference to the accumulated and immediate labour worked up in it, was produced both during the war and since, by the same advances, which we will call a hundred days' labour, was, in the former period, worth perhaps 114 days, and is probably now only worth 108 days, owing to the great supply of hardware compared with the demand. If the average term of the advances on which profits would be reckoned were a year in both cases, then, in the former case, profits would be 14 per cent., and in the latter, 8 per cent. The value of the produce of the same quantity of labour would have fallen in that degree; and it is certain that, if the producers were able and willing to continue the same proportionate supply, at the same rate, owing to the abundance of capital, this state of things might continue for twenty or thirty years together.

It is clear then, that in denying the influence of demand and supply on prices, except for short periods, the friends of the new school have totally mistaken the nature of the principle, and the mode and extent of its operation. This, indeed, is strikingly obvious from the following passage in the present treatise. Speaking of cottons, the author says, 'no one can deny that the demand for them has been prodigiously augmented within the last fifty

or sixty years; and yet their price, instead of increasing, as it ought to have done, had the popular theory of demand and supply been well founded, has been constantly and rapidly diminishing.' (p. 256.) Now, we should like to know, what 'popular theory' of demand and supply ever supposed that an increased consumption, specifically and exclusively caused by an increased supply, and increased cheapness, ought to occasion increased prices. That such increased consumption may prevent prices from falling so low as they otherwise would do, is natural enough; but that it should raise prices is the grossest contradiction in terms; and the statement only proves how totally the author has misapprehended the nature of that kind of demand and supply which affects prices and value. The specific reason why cottons have fallen during the last fifty or sixty years is, that they have been supplied in much greater abundance compared with a given demand, or a given quantity of labour. The main cause of this no doubt is, the greater productiveness of labour in this species of industry, or the power of producing the same quantity of cottons at a less cost of production in labour; but to show how exclusively the effect is owing to the principle of demand and supply, it would be universally acknowledged that, if a greater quantity of cottons had not been produced compared with the demand, or a given quantity of labour, no change whatever would have taken place in the value of cottons, however great might be the improvements in machinery:—but this, of course, could only have happened under a monopoly.

If, then, the nature of the principle of demand and supply be properly understood, it must be allowed that the rejection of this principle in the determination of value, except in cases of monopoly or for short periods, is totally unwarranted; and that, in reality, the only difference between market prices and natural prices is, that the former are determined by the actual and temporary state, and the latter by the more permanent and ordinary state of the demand and supply.

The third important principle which we propose to consider, as peculiarly distinguishing the new school of political economy, is, that the difficulty of production on the land is the regulator of profits, to the entire exclusion of the cause stated by Adam Smith, namely, the relative abundance and competition of capital.

This principle, which is adverted to in various parts of the treatise, is broadly laid down in the last section of the third division, in the following passage:—p. 296.

'Dr. Smith was of opinion that the rate of profit varied inversely as the amount of capital, or in other words, that it was always greatest where capital was least abundant, and lowest where capital was the most abundant.

abundant. He supposed that, according as capital increased, the principle of competition would stimulate capitalists to endeavour to encroach on the employment of each other, and that, in furtherance of this object, they would be tempted to offer their goods at a lower price, and to give higher wages to their workmen. This theory was long universally assented to. It has been espoused by MM. Say, Sismondi and Storch, by the Marquis de Garnier, and, with some slight modifications, by Mr. Malthus. But, notwithstanding the deference due to these authorities, it is easy to see that the principle of competition could never be productive of a general fall in the rate of profit. Competition will prevent any one individual from obtaining a higher rate of profit than his neighbours; but no one will say that competition diminishes the productiveness of industry, and it is on this that the rate of profit must always depend. The fall of profits, which invariably takes place as society advances, and population becomes denser, is not owing to competition, but to a very different cause—"to a diminution of the power to employ capital with advantage, resulting either from a decrease in the fertility in the soil which must be taken into cultivation in the progress of society, or from an increase of taxation."

Mr. Malthus has clearly demonstrated that population has a constant tendency not only to equal, but to exceed the means of subsistence. But if the supply of labourers be always increased in proportion to every increase in the demand for their labour, it is plain the mere accumulation of capital could never sink profits by raising wages, that is, by *increasing the labourer's share of the commodities produced by him*. It is true that a sudden increase of capital would, by causing an *unusually* great demand for labourers, raise wages and lower profits; but such a rise of wages could not be permanent; for the additional stimulus which it would give to the principle of population, would, as Mr. Malthus has shewn, by proportioning the supply of labour to the increased demand, infallibly reduce wages to their former level.

On these observations it is first necessary to remark, that the opinion of Adam Smith on the subject of profits, is not properly understood. It is quite clear, from the context of the passage referred to, that he never meant to state generally, that the rate of profit varies inversely as the amount of capital, without any reference to the difficulty or facility of finding employment for it, which would be saying that England must have lower profits than Holland, on account of the greater quantity of capital employed in England, or that the rate of profits in any country whose capital was increasing, must go on falling regularly, and be always lower at every subsequent period, whether new channels of trade, and more productive means of employing capital, were opened to her or not. What Adam Smith says is this, (B. ii. c. iv.) 'As capitals increase in any country, the profits which can be made by employing them, necessarily diminish. It becomes

becomes gradually more and more difficult to find within the country a *profitable* method of employing any new capital. There arises in consequence a competition between different capitals, the owner of one endeavouring to get possession of that employment which is occupied by another.' This very distinctly implies, not merely *absolute amount of capital*, but relative difficulty of finding *profitable* employment for it. Abundance and competition, indeed, always have a relative signification; and by the abundance and competition of capital, Adam Smith obviously means an increase in the *share* of the 'annual produce which, as soon as it comes from the ground, or from the hands of the productive labourers, is destined for replacing a capital.' But it is quite certain, that whenever this share increases profits must fall.

With regard to the statement that competition cannot diminish the productiveness of industry, we most readily allow it; but we utterly deny, that it is on this that the rate of profit must always depend. There is a very frequent, but certainly no *necessary* connection between the productiveness of industry and the rate of profits. The rate of profits depends upon the *proportion* of the whole produce which goes to replace the advances; but this proportion may obviously be the same when the productiveness of industry is very different. And that practically, it very seldom increases or decreases according to the degree of productiveness, is manifest from this, that in the various countries of the commercial world so different in natural fertility, the rate of profits, allowing for difference of security, is much more nearly the same than the rate of corn wages. Nothing indeed can be more entirely unwarranted by facts, than the assumption of any thing like a constant rate of corn wages. In our own country great variations have taken place for twenty, thirty, and even sixty years together; and in the United States the corn wages of labour have long been considerably more than double those of England. Yet, in order to be able to say with truth, that the rate of profit must always depend upon the productiveness of industry, we must assume, that the corn wages of labour are always the same.

On the subject of the difficulty of production on the land, we have to observe, that we are by no means disposed to overlook the effects resulting from the necessity of resorting to poorer land in the progress of cultivation and population. The principle founded on the gradations of soil not only shows clearly why rent, though generally considered as the consequence of monopoly, appears in an early period of society, while land is still in great plenty; but it explains specifically the reason why the continued increase of capital, in a limited territory, must unavoidably terminate in a fall of profits. In both these views it is of the highest

highest importance, and most decidedly confirmed by experience. But if it be considered as *regulating* profits, that is, if we assume, that while the productiveness of the last capital employed on the land remains the same, profits will continue the same, and that when it increases or diminishes, profits will necessarily increase or diminish, then it will be found to be almost universally contradicted by facts.

Is it possible, for instance, to attribute the fall of profits which has taken place during the last eight or nine years, to the difficulty of production on the land? Corn, it is well known, has been unusually cheap during the greatest part of the time; the capitals of many farmers have greatly suffered, and it is the universal impression, that they have been unable, on account of their losses, to keep their lands in the same high state of cultivation as before. Under these circumstances, and with a falling money price of labour, the doctrines of the new school teach us that profits ought to rise. The fact, however, has been exactly the reverse. Nor is there the least reason to say, that the effect is peculiar, or merely temporary. A similar fall of profits has taken place in almost every state at all similarly circumstanced, with which we are acquainted; and at a former period, in our own country, for nearly thirty years together, from the accession of George II. to the year 1757, the interest of money was at 3, 3½, and even, during an intermediate war, only at about 4 per cent., and profits must have been low nearly in proportion. In neither of these cases can we attribute the low profits to the difficulty of production on the land. Corn was plentiful and cheap; and nothing indicated that the labour employed on the last land taken into cultivation had become less productive.

What then was the cause of the fall of profits? It was obviously and unquestionably a fall in the value of produce owing to the abundance and competition of capital, which would necessarily occasion a different division of what was produced, and award a larger proportion of it to the labourer, and a smaller proportion of it to the capitalist. Accordingly, we find that, while the productiveness of labour on the land remained nearly the same, the labourer was paid greater corn wages than usual. It was during the thirty years of low profits just referred to, that he earned on an average about a full peck of wheat a day, which was more than he had earned, during any ten years together, for nearly a century and a half before, or could earn for above half a century afterwards. The same circumstance has attended the fall of profits since the war. It is well known, that the money price of wheat has fallen more than the money price of labour; and consequently, the labourer

labourer who has been employed, has earned a greater quantity of wheat than usual.

When the difficulty of production on the land really increases, the corn wages of labour almost uniformly fall, and the money price of corn almost uniformly rises. In these cases exactly the opposite effects were experienced, corn wages rose, and the money price of corn fell considerably; while, with these two symptoms so strongly negating all idea of the diminished productiveness of the last capitals employed on the land, there was not a single symptom which could be brought forwards tending in the slightest degree to establish such diminished productiveness.

Here then we have two glaring instances in our own country of a fall of profits, one of thirty years continuance, and the other of eight or nine years, which cannot, with the slightest semblance of probability, be attributed to the difficulty of production on the land. Both instances, however, accord most perfectly with the more general proposition of Mr. Ricardo respecting profits, namely, that they are determined by the proportion of the whole produce which goes to labour. It is matter of incontrovertible fact, that in both these cases the labourer absorbed a larger proportion of what he produced: but it is of the highest importance to remark that, in neither case, could the increased corn wages be attributed to the increased demand for labour. In the former period, when the average corn wages of common day labour were a peck a day, if there had been the same demand for labour, and it had been equally easy for the wife and children of the labourer to find full employment, as it was from 1793 to 1815, it is quite impossible to suppose that we should not have had a nearly equal increase of population; while it is well known that the population from 1727 to 1756 increased very slowly, and from 1793 to 1815 very rapidly. In the period which has elapsed since the return of peace, the difficulty of finding employment, particularly on the land, has been too notorious to require proof; and if, owing to the extraordinary stimulus given to the population by the previous demand for it, it still continues to increase with rapidity, yet there is reason to think that the present demand would not nearly have kept pace with the rate of increase, and that great distress would have been the consequence, if the happy opening of new and large channels of foreign commerce, combined with the improved views of our government in commercial legislation, had not prepared the way for a renewed demand for labour. As it is, it is universally allowed that the money price of corn and commodities has fallen during the last nine years more than the money price of labour; and

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while the merchant sees that on this account the workmen which he employs are paid a larger proportion of the commodities which they produce, we believe that there is not a single unsophisticated person in business who would not at the same time acknowledge, that this was not owing to the scarcity and increased demand for labour, but to the abundance and cheapness of the commodities produced, occasioned by the abundance and competition of capital in every department of industry.

We fully agree with the author of the present treatise, that when it is said that profits depend on wages, they must not be understood to 'depend on wages estimated in money, in corn, or in any other commodity, but on proportional wages, that is, on the share of the commodities produced by the labourer, or of their value, which is given to him.' But innumerable facts concur to show, that this increased proportion awarded to the labourer continually takes place without being accompanied with any circumstances which indicate either an increased demand for labour, or an increase in the value of the same quantity of labour.

We are in the habit, and we believe justly, of considering the precious metals as a commodity less liable to sudden changes of value than any of the other products of human industry, and it is well known that the money price of the same kind of labour often remains the same for many years together. But during such periods there are frequently variations in the prices of commodities produced by a given quantity of labour, owing to the state of the demand and supply, without any alteration in the power of production, or the amount of produce obtained by the same quantity of labour and capital.

Now what is the consequence of these variations? If the *prices* of calicoes fall, it is quite obvious that while the workman continues to earn the same money wages, he will obtain a larger proportion of the calicoes produced by him. We have already shown that this does not imply an increased demand for labour, and it is equally certain that it does not imply an increased *value* of labour. Measured in money, the value of which for short periods is considered as being steady, labour remains of exactly the same value as before, and the additional quantity of calicoes earned by the workman is exclusively owing to the fall in their money price.

On the other hand, if, under the same circumstances, calicoes rise in money price, the workman must necessarily earn a smaller proportion of what he produces; but this, so far from implying a decrease in the demand for labour, implies, on the part of the capitalist, both the power and will to employ more than before. Nor does it imply a diminished *value* of labour. Measured in the steady article of metallic money, labour has continued exactly of the

the same value; and though the workman earns a smaller quantity of calicoes, yet this is exclusively owing to the rise in the price of calicoes, while the price of his labour has remained the same. Instances of this kind are occurring all around us every day of our lives; and we believe that there is no political economist who would venture to say, that, in these individual cases, the variations of profits, arising from wages absorbing a greater or smaller proportion of the produce, were occasioned by the rise or fall in the value of the labour, instead of a rise or fall in the value of the produce.

But, in reality, the principle is as applicable generally as it is individually, and will be found to be true for periods of considerable length, as well as for those short periods, during which we are in the habit of considering metallic money as practically of the same value. If the competition of capital in any particular department of industry may so lower the value of the produce as to occasion a larger proportion of the produce to be paid to the labourer, there seems to be no reason why the competition of increasing capital in all departments should not so lower the value of the mass of commodities, compared with labour, as to award generally a larger proportion of what is divided between the labourers and the capitalists to the labourers, and thus occasion a general fall on profits.

The only argument against this natural and obvious conclusion is taken from the principle of population stated by Mr. Malthus, and referred to in the passage before quoted. His doctrine is considered as proving, that 'the supply of labourers will always be increased in proportion to every increase in the demand for their labour;' and in this statement we are disposed to agree with the author. But the great question, and a most important one it must be acknowledged to be, is, whether an accumulation of capital coming upon a slack demand for produce, which will certainly award a larger share of this produce to the labourer, will always be accompanied by that increase in the demand for labour which is so necessary to occasion a rapid increase of population? It is well known, that the effect of increase of quantity on price and value is frequently to lower the exchangeable value of commodities in a much greater degree than in proportion to the increase. But when this is the case the mass of such commodities, after their increase, must command a smaller quantity of any object which had not altered its value, than before. Now, supposing this increase to have taken place, under the circumstances stated, in the funds specifically destined for the maintenance of labour, the necessary consequence would be, that, instead of an *unusually great demand* for labourers, there would be a *diminished demand*,
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and the mass of these funds would not be adequate to set so many people to work as before. Either a part of the labourers must be thrown entirely out of work, or the whole must be only partially employed—a state of things exactly calculated to generate those indolent habits, which, while they occasion a larger proportion of the produce to go to labour, owing to the greater number employed, tend to reduce to but a scanty allowance the annual remuneration of each labourer. Under these circumstances it is evident, that, notwithstanding the increased produce awarded at first to the labourers actually employed, the progress of population is likely to be but slow. The theory on the subject is very simple and clear, and it only remains to be considered whether it is confirmed by experience.

In the first place it is obvious, that whenever the money price of the funds for the maintenance of labour so falls as to lower the value of the whole mass, while the money price of labour remains nearly the same, the labourer must earn a larger proportion of the produce, and profits must fall; and it must be allowed that this event is practically frequent. It is continually happening for short periods, owing to a fall in the price of corn, occasioned by the state of the seasons; and for longer periods, owing to more permanent causes. It occurred in the latter part of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, in this country, for sixty years together; it occurred in the early part of the last century for above thirty years together, and has been taking place for the last nine years, since 1814; and whatever may have been the increase of population during the latter period, occasioned by the *impetus* previously received, and the fortunate opening of new channels of trade, it is certain that in the two former periods of very considerable duration, the high corn wages earned by the labourer were not accompanied by anything like so rapid an increase of population as at periods when the corn wages were lower, and the demand for labour greater. But, if it appear both from theory and experience, that an increased rate of corn wages is not always accompanied by an increased demand for labour, and on that account does not necessarily occasion a more rapid increase of population, it is perfectly clear that a distribution of the produce which awards a larger share to the labourer, may occasion a fall of profits for a very considerable time together, without any increase in the difficulty of production on the land.

But if this be so, it is equally certain that it is specifically the competition of capital, or the increase of capital compared with the value of the produce to be derived from it, which can alone occasion such a distribution. The relative difficulty of production on the land accounts for none of those considerable variations in

in the rate of profits which are practically found to occur during those long periods when the improvements in agriculture, and the saving of labour, have compensated the disadvantage of resorting to naturally poorer soils, and when, in consequence, the productiveness of labour on the land has remained nearly the same; while the principle of the competition of capital not only gives the true explanation of all these variations, but equally applies to those variations which arise from the diminished productiveness of labour on the land. In both cases the immediate cause of the fall of profits is the increase or abundance of capital greater than the demand for the produce; in both cases the effect depends *solely* on the altered distribution of what is produced. And the only difference is, that, in the latter case, this altered distribution is absolutely necessary and unavoidable, in the actual state of the land, and of the skill with which it is cultivated; while in the former, it depends upon the tastes and habits of the effectual demanders, and is susceptible of change, without any alteration in the state of the land, by a better proportion of the supply to the demand.

In denying, therefore, the effects of the relative competition of capital on profits, and referring exclusively to the relative productiveness of labour, the friends of the new school have rejected a principle which will account for almost every variation of profits which can possibly occur, and have endeavoured to substitute another, which will only account for one class of cases, and those of such a nature that they may not occur in the course of one or two centuries.

It appears, then, that their theory of profits does not account for things, as they have been, and as they are, in any degree so well as the theory of Adam Smith which they have rejected.

We have already anticipated most of the remarks which we wished to make on the fourth division of the present treatise, in what we said of productive and unproductive labour, and productive and unproductive consumption as necessarily connected with the definition of wealth given in the first division. But we cannot quit this last division, without referring to a passage in it which strikes us as peculiarly illustrative of the impracticability and inapplicability of some of the opinions maintained by the new school. The author fully adopts the doctrine of M. Say, laid down in his chapter *Des Debouchés*, that is, *that effective demand depends upon production*: and to show that a general glut is impossible; he has the following argument.

In exerting his productive powers every man's object is either directly to consume the produce of his labour himself, or to exchange it for such commodities as he wishes to obtain from others. If he does
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the first—if he directly consumes the produce of his industry, there is an end of the matter, and it is evident that the multiplication of such produce to infinity could never occasion a glut: if he does the second—if he brings the produce of his industry to market, and offers it in exchange for other commodities, then and then only there may be a glut; but why? Not certainly because there has been any excess of production, but because the producers have not properly adapted their means to their ends. They wanted, for example, silks, and they offered cottons in exchange for them; the proprietors of silks were however already sufficiently supplied with cottons, and they wanted broad cloths. The cause of the glut is therefore obvious. It consists not in over-production, but in the production of cottons which were not wanted, instead of broad cloths, which were wanted. Let this error be rectified, and the glut will disappear.

‘Even supposing the proprietors of silks to be not only supplied with cottons, but with cloth and every other commodity that the demanders can produce, it would not invalidate the principle for which we are contending. If those who want silks cannot obtain them from those who have them by means of an exchange, they have an obvious resource at hand—let them cease to produce the commodities which they do not want, and *directly produce the silks which they do want, or substitutes for them.* It is plain, therefore, that the utmost facility of production can never be the means of overloading the market. Too much of one commodity may occasionally be produced; but it is quite impossible that there can be too great a supply of every species of commodities. For every excess there must be a corresponding deficiency. The fault is not in producing too much, but in producing commodities which do not suit the tastes of those with whom we wish to exchange them, or which we cannot ourselves consume.’

It is here stated, that for every excess there must be a corresponding deficiency. If this means any thing, it must mean, that if, in some departments of industry, the fall in the value of the produce from excess of quantity destroys nearly all the profits of the producer, this must necessarily be accompanied by such a rise in the value of produce in other departments of industry, as to yield to the capitalists engaged in them an unusually high rate of profits. Now we would appeal to the experience of every person who, without being biassed by some previous prejudice, had turned the smallest attention to the subject, whether, at the time when a general glut was talked of, there was the least ground for the assertion, that, although the state of the trade in cottons was ruinous, the capitalist engaged in making broad cloths or silks, or some other article which would absorb a large capital, was in the most prosperous and flourishing state, and inviting additional stock by high prices and high profits. This assertion of corresponding deficiency, as applied to what is known to have taken place since the peace, appears to us as strange as if

if it were gravely asserted that every man in the streets of London who was observed to have his head covered, would be found upon examination to have his feet bare. All people have not been in London, and could not therefore personally contradict such an affirmation; but on account of its extreme improbability none would believe it, and in justification of this disbelief they would naturally say that, if it were true, they must have heard more of it. Now we will venture to say, no one ever heard, as a matter of fact from competent authority, that, for some years together, since the peace, there was a marked deficiency of produce in any one considerable department of industry.

If, however, in spite of the general principles of political economy, which inculcate an equality of profits; in spite of the intelligence and skill of our merchants and manufacturers, who are not apt to be obstinately inattentive to their interests, and in spite of an abundant quantity of floating capital ready to go any where for the chance of a tolerable profit, some capitalists are absolutely unable to obtain the commodities they want by means of an exchange; what is their resource? Our author says it is obvious, and at hand.—‘Let them cease to produce the commodities which they do not want, and *directly produce the silks which they do want, or substitutes for them.*’

Let us for a moment consider the nature of this remedy. In the first place no capitalist ever wants a large quantity of any one commodity with a view to his own consumption. If he could most readily exchange his cottons for silks, or any other commodity which he might prefer, and were to consume such commodity, he would at once be ruined, as he would have consumed his capital. What, then, does he really want? Besides the raw materials to be worked up, which he can seldom obtain but by means of an exchange, his main want is the means of supporting his workmen. Is he to set about producing these means? If he does, he will proceed but slowly in his new manufacture; and in the interim must produce all the various articles required for the consumption of his family, and thus give up the benefits derived from the division of labour. We feel quite certain that if the reason why a general glut cannot happen is, that the producers have this remedy at hand, gluts might take place over and over in civilized countries, without its ever occurring to a single producer that he might relieve himself by resorting to so impracticable and barbarous a resource.

The doctrine of the equality of profits teaches us that partial gluts cannot be of long duration. The interest of individual producers to move their capitals to more profitable employments is so obvious and pressing, that it cannot long be unattended to, though

though the change may occasion temporary loss. But when the warehouses are generally full, and there is a sudden and unusual fall of profits in *all* employments, which is what is meant by a general glut, the producer cannot relieve himself. It is of little consequence in this case, that all the articles are produced in their proper proportions to each other, and that cottons, broad cloths, silks, hardware, &c. &c. exchange among themselves exactly at the same rate as they did before. If without improvements in machinery, they have all fallen compared with labour,* which they may very easily do from the competition of capital acting on a slack demand, foreign and domestic, there must necessarily be a general fall of profits accompanied with all the appearances of a general glut. How long this might last, it would not be very easy to say: it would depend entirely upon the tastes and habits of the effectual demanders, and the perseverance and competition of the producers. Such a state of things, however, would at once be put an end to by the opening of new and large channels of trade, which would absorb a great mass of capital, and raise the price of produce, by altering the state of the demand compared with the supply. But during the time of its continuance, it is manifest, from what has been said, that the large proportion of the produce awarded to the labourer would not necessarily occasion an increased demand for labour; and it is equally manifest that a greater quantity of cheaper commodities being given to the labourer would not imply an increased *value* of labour. It would be, as Adam Smith has most justly stated, the goods which had fallen, not the labour which had risen.

It has been our object in this Article to point out to the reader the main characteristic differences which distinguish the new school of Political Economy from that of Adam Smith and Mr. Malthus. For this purpose, we have laid our chief stress on three very fundamental points;—1. The new principle which has been laid down on the subject of value; 2. The new principle

* Upon a former occasion the author had fallen into a similar error. Speaking of a rise in the price of wages and of commodities, he observes, (p. 264.) 'If wages rise 50 per cent., a producer, a farmer for example, would be precisely in the same condition whether he sold his corn for 50 per cent. advance, and gave an additional 50 per cent., as he would be obliged to do, for his hats, shoes, clothes, &c. &c., or sold his corn at its former price, and bought all the commodities which he consumed at the prices he had formerly given for them.' Now we consider it as quite certain, that if the price of labour were to rise 50 per cent., and the price of the produce of such labour were to continue the same, the producer would infallibly be ruined, and would be utterly unable to carry on his business, at whatever price he might buy his shoes and clothes; whereas, if the price of his produce rose proportionally, it would be merely a fall in the value of money, and he might go on as before. It is of the utmost importance to remember that every commodity is mainly exchanged against labour, and that a moderate alteration in the value of labour, compared with produce, would at once destroy all profits, if they were not before very high.

which has been laid down on the subject of demand and supply; and 3. The new principle which has been laid down on the subject of profits, and the competition of capital.

We are inclined, however, to think that these differences may be still further concentrated; and that it will not be incorrect to state, that all the peculiar doctrines of the new system directly and necessarily flow from the first of these new principles; namely, that *the exchangeable value of commodities is determined by the quantity of labour worked up in them.* It follows, directly and necessarily from this principle, that neither the demand compared with the supply, nor the relative abundance and competition of capital, can have more than a mere temporary effect on values and profits.

This draws a strongly marked line of distinction between the two systems in reference to the main object of inquiry in the science of Political Economy, namely, the causes which encourage or discourage the increase of wealth. In both systems it is allowed that these depend mainly on the state of profits. And the grand distinction between the two may be stated shortly to be this:—The new school suppose that the mass of commodities obtained by the same quantity of labour remains always substantially of the same value, and that the variations of profits are determined by the variations in the value of this same quantity of labour: while Adam Smith and Mr. Malthus suppose that the value of the same quantity of labour remains substantially the same, and that the variations of profits are determined by the variations in the value of the commodities produced by this same quantity of labour. In the one case, the varying value of labour is considered as the great moving principle in the progress of wealth; in the other, the varying value of the *produce* of labour. The difference is most distinct and important. And as political economy, according to the first description of it in the present Treatise, 'is not a science of speculation, but of fact and experiment,' the specific question is, which of the two views here stated best explains the broad and established facts of which we have had experience.

For our own parts we have no hesitation in saying that the events of the last thirty years, in this country, appear to us to be absolutely inexplicable on the supposition that the mass of commodities produced by the same quantity of labour, remained during that time of the same value;* while they are explained in

* It would imply, that, during the war, the value of labour was low, on account of the food of the labourer being obtained with great facility; and that since the war the value of labour has been high, on account of the food of the labourer being obtained with great difficulty;—positions which it is impossible to maintain.

the clearest and most obvious manner, by allowing, in conformity with all appearances, that the value of the produce of the same quantity of labour rose during the war, and has fallen since, owing to the state of the demand and supply, and of the relative abundance and competition of capital in the two periods.* And we believe it will be found, that no instance of a rise or fall of profits has ever occurred which may not justly be attributed to a rise or fall in the value of the produce of the same quantity of labour occasioned by these causes.

The reader will be aware that this proposition in no respect impeaches the very great advantages derived from that fall of price which arises from the saving of labour, the use of improved machinery, and the diminution of taxes, or any other outgoings. Such improvements, while they lower the value of any specific quantity of the article produced, have the strongest tendency to raise the value of the produce of the same quantity of labour; and this tendency can only fail to be effectual for short periods, or under particular circumstances.

The frequent fall of price arising from the saving of labour and other outgoings, is almost always beneficial. The frequent fall of price not arising from this cause, but from the state of the demand and supply, and the competition of capital, is often prejudicial. The rapid progress of wealth for a continuance, depends upon the produce of labour being of such a value as to occasion its division between the capitalist and labourer in the proportions which are at once the most advantageous to both,† and will increase most rapidly and steadily the quantity and value of the capital, and the number of the people.

The system of the new school of political economy has always struck us as bearing a very remarkable resemblance to the system of the French Economists. Their founders were equally men of the most unquestionable genius; of the highest honour and integrity, and of the most simple, modest and amiable manners.

* If the money price of labour had remained the same during the whole period, this rise in the value of corn and commodities in the first twenty years, and fall subsequently, would have been exactly expressed and measured by the rise and fall in the money prices of commodities. But under great changes in the state of the demand and supply of commodities, money rarely retains the same value. Still, it is of some use as a measure. And as the money prices of corn and commodities rose more during the first part of the period, and fell more during the second part than the money price of labour, this fact, which is absolutely incontrovertible, shows at once that the great change of value was in corn and commodities; while labour remained comparatively constant.

† It has been said that the manner in which the produce of labour is divided cannot alter the value. If it do not actually alter its value, it clearly shows that its value is altered. Properly speaking, indeed, it is the value of the produce, determined by the demand and supply, which regulates the division, not the division which regulates the value.

Their systems were equally distinguished for their discordance with common notions, the apparent closeness of their reasonings, and the mathematical precision of their calculations and conclusions founded on their assumed data. These qualities in the systems and their founders, together with the desire so often felt by readers of moderate abilities of being thought to understand what is considered by competent judges as difficult, increased the number of their devoted followers in such a degree, that in France it included almost all the able men who were inclined to attend to such subjects, and in England a very large proportion of them.

The specific error of the French Economists was the having taken so confined a view of wealth and its sources as not to include the results of manufacturing and mercantile industry.

The specific error of the new school in England is the having taken so confined a view of *value* as not to include the results of demand and supply, and of the relative abundance and competition of capital.*

Facts and experience have, in the course of some years, gradually converted the economists of France from the erroneous and inapplicable theory of Quesnay to the juster and more practical theory of Adam Smith; and as we are fully convinced that an error equally fundamental and important is involved in the system of the new school in England as in that of the French economists, we cannot but hope and expect that similar causes will, in time, produce in our own country similar effects in the correction of error and the establishment of truth.

ART. II.—*A Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour, as it existed in Europe, but particularly in England, from the Norman Conquest to the Reign of King Charles II. with a Glossary of Military Terms, &c.* By Samuel Rush Meyrick, LL.D. and F.S.A. &c. 3 vols. 4to. London. 1824.

THERE is no branch of antiquarian research more interesting in itself, or more useful for historical illustration, than the study of the armour of the middle ages. The subject awakens every association which belongs to the *olden time* of romance. It is interwoven with all the splendour of chivalry; the din of Paynim battle, the alarums of feudal combats, and the festive but perilous

* The precise cause of the superiority of Adam Smith's and Mr. Malthus's measure of *value*, namely, the labour which a commodity will command, over the measure adopted by the new school, namely, the labour worked up in a commodity, is, that the former includes the effects of demand and supply, and the competition of capital, and the latter excludes them. It is a satisfactory circumstance that the principles of free trade are fully acknowledged in all the three systems, and that any deviations from them can only be defended on special grounds.

encounter of the courtly joust and tournament. Among those monumental effigies which are frequently our only records of armour, some cross-legged figure in the aisles of our venerable cathedrals will occasionally recall the memory of the heroic enthusiasm and mistaken piety of the crusader, and conduct us in idea through his toilsome march and deadly conflict with the Saracen: at such a moment his contempt of suffering and of danger; his sacrifice of home and kindred; his ready endurance of torture and death, rise at once before us, and forbid us from censuring with severity the madness of his enterprise. Or, if we turn to the rude paintings and illuminated MSS. of the times for armorial costume, the 'well-foughten' fields of honour, the glittering array of steel-clad warriors, the solemn display of judicial battle, the gayer lists for trial of knightly skill and 'ladye love;' the baronial hall, the minstrelsy, the masque, the banquet and the ball, spring up before us in dazzling and fantastic imagery.

But dispelling the illusions of fancy, it is by reducing the inquiry into the changes of armour to the standard of sober reason, that the subject acquires its historical value. It is, in fact, impossible to understand the condition of society in Europe during the middle ages without some acquaintance with the peculiar warfare of the times; and, as the genius of chivalry was wholly personal, and rendered the encounters of nations no more than a multitude of single combats, the inventions of the military art were exhausted in perfecting the construction and the use of individual weapons and defensive harness. All that great game of war which is reducible into the science of tactics, and which with modern armies, as with those of Greece and Rome, is played by a single intelligence pervading mighty masses of physical power, was utterly unknown to the rude chieftains of the feudal hordes. Yet war was their incessant occupation, and the image of war and the chase their only pastime. Since the Homeric age, there has never occurred, perhaps, an era so exclusively military, as that which is comprehended between the tenth and the fifteenth centuries. Almost every order of society mingled in the work of slaughter. Monarchs, nobles, and the inferior proprietors of the soil, found in camps their common theatre of action; and free cities poured forth bands of armed burghers to protect their harvests, or manned their walls with artizans, who enjoyed security within them by no other tenure than their own good swords.

During this long and turbulent period, the influence of the softer sex tempered the passion for arms, and the fierce and brutal spirit of feudal anarchy was gradually calmed and humanized by the progress of romantic sentiment. It is a trite observation, that we are indebted for the polished courtesy of modern so-

ciety to the institutions of chivalry; but the fact is alone sufficient to invest the examination into these singular ordinances with particular interest; and, while their peculiarities and the state of manners generally, during the middle ages, can be learned only through their connexion with military usages, these again were sensibly affected by progressive changes in the quality and form of arms. As illustrating, therefore, the civil and military history of the middle ages, as shedding a curious light upon the manners, customs, and feelings of society, and as forming, moreover, a complete chronology of costume, a systematic dissertation upon armour, accompanied by a full series of clear and accurate engravings, is in every way a desideratum; and as we have hitherto remained without any sufficient work of this nature,—for Capt. Grose's Essay, however valuable as far as it goes, is very incomplete,—we had recourse to the volumes before us with much curiosity.

We cannot say that we have risen from their perusal with any extraordinary respect for the judgment and taste of the author, or without considerable disappointment at the style and execution of his costly production. The plan upon which he has conducted his inquiry appears to us extremely inconvenient and ill chosen. The natural divisions of the subject are so strongly marked, that we are at a loss to account for his failing to adopt them; and the steps of improvement by which defensive armour attained its perfection are so easily to be traced, that we cannot but wonder at his discarding the obvious classification of distinct periods in the art, for artificial lines of separation which had no influence upon its general character. After the settlement of the barbarian conquerors of the western empire in their new possessions, and the foundation of the feudal monarchies of Europe, the earliest species of body armour which they adopted was composed of metal rings or scales, sewn on leather or cloth; and this was gradually improved into coats of chain and scale mail, and extended into general coverings for the whole frame. Then mail armour came by degrees to be strengthened by detached plates of iron or steel. This mixed harness was again improved; and the mail disappeared, first from some parts of the body and afterwards from others, until the perfection of defence found the warrior completely cased in steel plates. If villainous saltpetre had never been 'digg'd out of the bowels of the harmless earth,' in this state the art might have remained to our days; but the invention and murderous improvement of fire-arms slowly wrought their effect upon military science, and brought the vain and cumbersome load of armour into contempt and disuse. As it had progressively increased in weight, quality, and surface over every limb,

limb, so was it now reluctantly thrown aside, piece by piece, until it ended, where it had begun, in leather; and even the buff coat of the seventeenth century was at length consigned to monumental costume and the armouries of the curious.

Thus we have four great periods in the history of armour;—the progress of the art until the completion of mail armour; mixed harness of mail and plates; plate armour to the period of its perfection; and, finally, its gradual disuse, and, with few exceptions, the total abandonment of defensive arms. Now this simple and evident classification seems entirely to have escaped Dr. Meyrick's observation; and, in place of it, we have, after an introduction on the armour of the ancients, three ponderous tomes occupied seriatim with all the reigns of our English monarchs from William the Conqueror to Charles II. inclusive, and devoid of all systematic arrangement; which should have reference, not to periods of royalty that vary from fifty years to scarcely the same number of days, but to features in his subject totally independent of these extraneous accidents of history.

While Dr. Meyrick's work is thus defective in general arrangement, its execution is in some other respects equally open to objection in manner and matter. His style is careless and inelegant, his descriptions are often obscure and confused, and worse than those of a small poet, and his language is not always grammatical; the chain of more important inquiry is broken and interrupted by historical common-places and rambling digressions upon insignificant points and frivolous details; his progress is unnecessarily impeded by endless repetitions; and the information which he desires to communicate is over-loaded with long and tiresome extracts from metrical romances, whose substance he might have conveyed by brief references, or compressed into a few sentences.* The sins of omission in the book are likewise formidable. The work is intended to represent the pageant of chivalry, and yet our Lord Chamberlain has left out two of the principal characters—the brother of St. John and the Templar—the dresses of whom were very singular, as being partly military and partly monastic, and should have engaged a considerable share of Dr. Meyrick's attention, because the fraternities of St. John and the Temple were the exemplars of all the chivalric orders in Europe. These

* Were we inclined to be 'critical,' we might notice with some asperity the quotations and translations from the learned languages, which occupy so large a portion of the Introduction, and which are frequently slovenly and incorrect in a very culpable degree. The Glossary, too, which concludes the work, bears many marks of carelessness, and calls for a careful revision. Thus, for instance, we have 'capellon, a scabbard.' This is proved by a latin quotation, which clearly shows the word to mean a *kilt*! and further illustrated by an extract from an old poem, in which, beyond all question, it signifies a *covering for the head*!

defects materially affect the interest of the work; and, notwithstanding the natural attractions of the subject, render it so insupportably tedious that we suspect few readers but professed antiquaries will have patience to wade through it. It is really to be regretted that the splendour of a publication so important in its class and unavoidably executed in so expensive a form, should be obscured by all these blemishes in literary excellence; but our censure must extend in some degree even to the pictorial embellishments. With some exceptions, the outlines of the figures in the plates are spiritless and faulty; and, in the equestrian specimens in particular, the horses are so miserably drawn that we are almost tempted to believe them copies *from the life* of the wooden chargers on which suits of armour are sometimes exhibited. A more serious complaint may be raised on the obscurity of the drawings which are meant to illustrate the texture of armour, as, for instance, in the varieties of mail. The size to which it was necessary to confine the delineation of the figures, of course rendered it difficult to make them represent these minutiae with clearness; but there appears no reason why the plates should not have borne their own explanations by fragments of armour placed on an enlarged scale beneath the figures. This fault is a grievous one: for as the author's style is not graphic, he stood in unusual need of the painter's aid.

Having unceremoniously delivered our opinion of Dr. Meyrick's work where it is unfavourable, we have a more grateful office to perform, in offering our testimony to the merits to which it may fairly lay claim. And first with respect to the embellishments, we would direct attention to the illuminated initials of each reign, which are admirably executed in their way, and, for their quaintness and correspondence with the best style of such devices in old MSS. and volumes, exceedingly curious and worth examination. The colours, too, of the plates, though from the nature of the subject somewhat gaudy, are extremely vivid and fine; and we would refer especially to some of the plates of armour of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as affording lively and gorgeous examples of the brilliant military costume of those ages. But both as regards the plates and the dissertations in the book, Dr. Meyrick's excellence is—accuracy; and, after all, it must be principally by this humble, this counting-house quality that his work claims to be judged. We have gone through it carefully, and, considering its peculiarities, we may say laboriously; and except perhaps in two or three points of little moment, we have really been unable to detect him in misconception or deficiency in the learning of his topic. He declares it to have been his main object to establish that chronological

nological truth of costume, with respect to ancient arms and armour, 'which has been so imperfectly regarded, alike by writers, painters, and dramatists of modern times;' and we are convinced that his work is well calculated, in dramatic and scenic representation at least, for the purpose to which he has devoted it. Both the artist and the directors of the theatrical costume will do well to consult his text and his plates. He truly observes that, 'in all the paintings since the time of Charles I. the warriors of whatever age are represented in the military costume of that period;* and yet as great a variety has existed in armour and it is as characteristic of successive eras as other habiliments. The truth is, artists have neither understood the subject themselves, nor been able to find sources of information elsewhere.' The same excuse can certainly no longer be pleaded in their behalf.

Neither, while we are noticing the valuable points in Dr. Meyrick's work, must we omit to acknowledge the curious information which it contains on the judicial combats, jousts, and tournaments of the chivalrous ages. But here, as in the more immediate history of armour, his researches are spread over such an extent, put together with so little method and connexion, and broken into so many abrupt transitions, that his work affords no general views or complete dissertation. Dr. Meyrick's description (in a sort of Appendix, in the third volume) of the state of the modern armouries of Europe is also exceedingly interesting. The account of the collection at the Tower (vol. iii. pp. 126—136) displays his usual knowledge and accuracy; and after reading his exposure of the palpable anachronisms and errors which exist in its arrangement, we are glad to perceive, by a note at p. 133, that a plan for the more judicious display of the beautiful specimens which it contains, has engaged the attention of the illustrious individual at the head of the ordnance:—the last person who should be indifferent to the preservation of our military records, to which his own achievements have given their crowning splendour.

After expressing the conviction at which we have arrived of the

* Dr. Meyrick excepts from this remark the late Mr. West's picture of the battle of Hastings: he might have found a more important example in the seven historical pieces, (in the King's Audience Chamber at Windsor Castle) of the wars of Edward III. by the same distinguished artist; which, in the heraldic and martial costume of the figures, are almost faultless. Perhaps the black armour assigned to the heroic Prince of Wales, and the plumed coronet of the king of Bohemia which lies at his feet, are the only circumstances to which the critical antiquary could object.

We happen to be acquainted with a fact connected with these pictures: their historical accuracy is attributable to the friendly aid of Sir Isaac Heard, who was constantly at the elbow of the artist; and thus they may be regarded as the joint composition of the first painter and herald of our days—a communion of labour, alike creditable to the memory of both.

accuracy that Dr. Meyrick has thrown into his subject, we shall at once make some use of his labours, and, with the aid of deductions from other sources of inquiry, offer a few general observations upon the changes of armour during the middle ages. Entirely rejecting, however, the order of royal succession with which he appears to us to have unnecessarily shackled his researches, even as they have reference to the martial usages of England alone, we shall follow the arrangement which we consider natural to the subject; that is, we shall speak successively of mail, of mixed, and of plate armour, and of the gradual disuse of defensive arms. The remarks which we shall thus put together may form a sort of corollary to a former paper in this Journal, in which we traced the progress of military science;* and may serve to supply a blank which we then left in the inquiry, partly for want of room, but principally because the state of the military art under the feudal and chivalrous systems stands distinct alike from the tactical practice of antiquity and of modern times.

The earliest delineation of armour after the Norman subjugation of England, of undoubted authenticity, is on the tapestry of Bayeux, which forms, as is generally known, a curious picture-history of the expedition of the Conqueror. Some researches in the seventeenth volume of the *Archæologia* have always appeared to us conclusive that this interesting work was executed at the command of the Empress Maud, daughter of our first and mother of our second Henry; but Dr. Meyrick, without noticing this supposition, refers to the argument of Mr. Stothard, in a later paper in that collection, as proving beyond doubt that the tapestry is coeval with the reign of the Conqueror himself. How the fact may be, it is of little moment to inquire, at least as connected with the present subject; for Dr. Meyrick gives an account of the state of armour under the reign of Canute the Dane, from an illuminated missal of that monarch in the British Museum, which, except in some trifling particulars, appears to identify the character of the armour of that period and of the Bayeux tapestry; and, whatever be the exact date of the latter, establishes the fidelity of its costume by disproving any striking intermediate changes.

Dr. Meyrick has therefore appropriately taken the authority of the tapestry for his plate of the martial costume of the Normans at the Conquest. We may with him pronounce the body armour of the time to have consisted indifferently either of a tunic, or of a jacket and breeches in one. These garments were both composed of leather or cloth, and covered sometimes with flat iron

* No. XLIX. Art. IV.

rings, sewn horizontally and contiguously, sometimes with small perforated lozenges of steel, called *mascles*, from their resemblance to the meshes of a net. The tunic-shaped garment was that which long retained its title of *hauberk*: the other was probably the *haubergeon*, mentioned by the romancers of those ages. When the *hauberk* was used, pantaloons, or, technically, *chausses*, of the same materials, were worn underneath this mailed frock; and both the *hauberk* and *haubergeon* were furnished with a hood for the head, also of mail, in the same piece. The *haubergeon* appears to have been put on by first drawing it over the thighs, where it sat wide, afterwards thrusting the arms into the sleeves, which hung loosely, and reached not much below the elbows, and lastly, bringing the hood over the head to close with a strap round the forehead. The suit, which had of course an opening at the breast like a shirt, was then drawn together at the neck, also by a strap, and finally covered over the chest by a small piece which buckled fast behind. When the *hauberk* was worn, the *chausses* of mail sometimes reached to the ankles; but the legs were more frequently covered, from the shoes upwards to the knees, with transverse parti-coloured bands, termed *heuse* or *hose*:—hence, says a contemporary chronicler, William the Conqueror used jocularly to call his son Robert, who was short-legged, *Curt-hose*.

The remaining defensive armour of this period was the helmet and the shield. The latter could only vary in shape, and its changes are, throughout the history of armour, not very important, though they occupy a great deal of Dr. Meyrick's attention; but the gradual improvements in the helmet and face armour, constitute in themselves a complete illustration of the progress of the defensive art. The helmet of the eleventh century, which was worn over the mail hood, was conical and convex; and the first step which it acquired towards the protection of the face, was by the nasal piece, which is seen in the Bayeux tapestry:—a broad flat piece of iron projecting before the nose, and in a great measure covering the whole face from a sword cut, though it very imperfectly guarded the countenance from the lance point. The hood, however, drew up over the mouth, and was attached to the nasal. The lance with its streamer, the gonfanon or penon, appears as the general offensive weapon of the Norman cavalier; though the iron mace and the long cutting sword were also in use. The arms of the contemptible feudal infantry scarcely deserve observation, with one exception which has a grateful sound to an English ear. There is no doubt that the Norman conquest introduced the long bow into this country; a weapon which, as the bayonet has done in our times, became

as it were naturalized among the people, and which, in the nervous hands of a bold and free yeomanry, won in later ages the immortal glories of Crecy, Poitiers, and Azincourt.

We may appear somewhat minute in our description of the armour of the Norman conquerors of our island. But from the passion of that people for travel and adventure, and their readiness to adopt foreign inventions, their martial costume may reasonably be presumed to elucidate that of Europe in general at the eleventh century; and we have been induced to speak particularly of the costume of this epoch, because the general form of armour was afterwards little changed, until mail was superseded by the complete casing of steel. The haubergeon growing out of fashion, the hauberk, with tight sleeves reaching to and covering the backs of the hands, and drawn tight at the waist, was the usual body harness from the twelfth to the fourteenth century; and the chausses, coming up under the hanging apron and shirts of the mailed tunic, were composed of pantaloons and coverings for the feet in the same piece. The hood of mail was now made separate from the coat. The changes in the shape of armour were therefore not very important for two centuries and a half after the conquest; but the manner in which the substratum, if we may so call it, of cloth or leather, was covered, underwent many variations before the expedient was invented of forming a complete network of interlaced rings, which hung together of themselves without any lining. These variations form rustred, scaled, trellissed, pourpointed, and, what Dr. Meyrick considers may be called, tegulated mail.

The first of these kinds of armour, the rustred, belongs to the early part of the twelfth century, and seems to have grown out of the flat ringed mail, being nothing more than a second stratum of rings, about double the usual size, laid over the other, so that two in the upper partially covered one below.—Scaled mail was in use about the same time, as there is a specimen of it in the seal of Alexander I. of Scotland, who began his reign in 1107; but this defence of small overlapping metal plates, sewn on leather or cloth, and disposed like the scales of fish, was precisely the lorica squammata of the ancients.—The trellissed mail, of which there is an example in a seal of a few years' later date, was more curious, or at least more novel in construction. Its texture is clearly determined by an illumination in the Bodleian Library. The outer surface of the mail, instead of scales or rings, presents us with strips of leather, crossing like the trellis work from which it was named by the early Norman writers. These straps, by passing over each other upon a tunic of cloth, left large intervening squares placed angularly, in the centre of each

each of which appeared a round knob or stud of steel. By these studs plates of metal were fastened within under the tunic; while the leathern bands covered the parts of the garment at which the pieces joined.—Of tegulated mail Dr. Meyrick has given both a plate and an initial illumination of great curiosity, from the seal of Richard Fitzhugh, Earl of Chester, Constable of England in 1140. This mail was not much unlike the common scale kind, except that the plates were square; and they were sewn upon the hauberk to cover each other like tiles.—Pourpointed armour was first suggested by the wambais or gambeson (from the Saxon *wambe*, the abdomen), which had its origin in Germany—a sort of doublet or belly garment for defence, composed of many folds of linen or cloth well stuffed with cotton, wool, or hair, and worn sometimes under mail, and sometimes over it, covered with leather. The padded pourpointerie, which was introduced into France in imitation of the gambeson, was, however, of neater workmanship, and employed like mail to cover all parts of the human frame; its first appearance as an English fashion is traceable to the beginning of the thirteenth century.

But all these descriptions of armour gradually vanished before a memorable and ingenious improvement upon the ringed mail, which seems to have been imported from Asia by the crusaders about the middle of the thirteenth century. This was the interlaced or twisted chain mail, the rings of which were riveted within each other, and therefore required nothing further to hold them together. The custom of setting the rings edgewise on the under garment, instead of flat, had made some approach to this interlacing; but the latter invention would certainly appear to have been Asiatic, and twisted mail is indeed worn by the Orientals to this day. Very few specimens remain of the old European mail; and Dr. Meyrick is correct in his opinion that many suits, which are palmed upon the public as of undoubted antiquity, are of modern eastern manufacture.

The progress of defensive armour had been attended with no change in offensive weapons. The lance and the sword were still the common arms of knighthood; but the battle-axe, once the death-dealing instrument of the Saxon, from the arm of the lion-hearted Plantagenet 'performed deeds beyond thought's compass.' It was the favourite weapon of Richard I. and of the warriors of his time; and the martel and the maule were also among the offensive arms of chivalry. They were both of considerable antiquity among the northern nations; for Charles Martel, the grandfather of Charlemagne, derived his surname from the use of the former, and the latter was decidedly of Gothic origin. The maule was a ponderous steel mallet, blunt at both ends; the
martel

martel differed from it in having one end sharpened to an edge or point, and was much used as late as the thirteenth century. The battle axe and the steel hammers were tremendous weapons for 'breaking open skulls,' as an old romance quaintly phrases it.

While mail was attaining its perfection of pliability and compactness, the armour for the head was undergoing some interesting changes. Among these the general disuse of the nasal was remarkable: this piece had several inconveniences, of which the facility that it afforded for seizing the knight by the helmet in close encounters, was not the least, and Dr. Meyrick is disposed to attribute its being laid aside to the frequency of such accidents. Stephen, king of England, was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, by a knight who held him down by the nasal after he had been beaten to the earth by a missile. But we should rather refer the disuse of this partial covering for the face to the insufficient protection which it afforded. It was replaced by cheek pieces which descended from the helmet, and nearly met over the face; and afterwards by a mask of iron (the vizor, or *aventaile*) which covered the face, with apertures for breathing and sight. In the plate of Richard Cœur de Lion, taken from his seal, the *aventaile* fixed to the helmet, which is cylindrical, (and this had become the usual form,) has the appearance of horizontal bars; but sometimes these were perpendicular, and sometimes the aperture formed an upright cross in the mask. In later times the *aventaile* was of mail, attached under the helmet to the hood. An attempt at a moveable vizor is discoverable on a seal of the twelfth century; but it was very long before this contrivance was perfected.

The precise date at which armorial bearings and surcoats were first used, is a much controverted question. It has often been said that armorial bearings were absolutely necessary in the first crusade, for the purpose of distinguishing the leaders of so many different nations as composed the Christian force. But it is justly observed by Mr. Mills, in a note on the military costume of that expedition, appended to the first volume of his history of the Crusades, 'that the armour of the eleventh century did not completely case in the body: the helmets were without vizor or bever, and men might be known by their physiognomies.' He, however, considers armorial bearings emblazoned on surcoats, as unquestionably of older date than the crusades, while Dr. Meyrick cannot find any traces of surcoats being worn in England before the reign of Henry II.; and he states that, though they became general in that of John, they first appear with armorial bearings in the time of his son. Yet, in another place, he describes, after a plate

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in Montfaucon, the shield of Geoffrey Plantagenet, son-in-law of Henry I., as offering one of the earliest specimens of armorial bearings. In the middle of the twelfth century, they clearly appear again on a curious English seal, emblazoned on a gonfalon, or banner, a practice which soon grew universal. The surcoats, which were originally plain garments worn over the armour, were afterwards splendidly emblazoned and richly embroidered; and, until mail was discarded for plate harness, formed with the silken cointise, or scarf, a superb and elegant costume, which was studiously heightened in effect by ornaments of gold and brilliant colours on the helmet and shield.

Having traced mail-harness through its various changes until its latest improvement, our notice of mixed armour will be brief. This union of detached pieces of solid steel with mailed garments, may be considered, in a strict sense, to have lasted in England for about one hundred years, from the close of the thirteenth to that of the fourteenth century; although the partial adoption of plates of steel or iron may be traced, in some instances, as early as the beginning of the former century. Indeed the use of the iron breast-plate under the mail, called the *plastron de fer*, is distinguishable as far back as the battle of the Standard, in 1138; but the invention of steel plates for the elbows does not appear until 1214, of which date is the seal of Alexander II. of Scotland, whose effigy Dr. Meyrick believes to afford the earliest specimen of such protection for the joints. These soon became general; and from this period, the *poleyns*, or knee-joints, the *ailettes*, or plates to guard the shoulders, greaves for the shins, cuisses for the thighs, brassards for the arms, and pectorals for the breast, all of steel, were rapidly adopted over the mail. Their introduction may clearly be laid to the insufficiency of the interlaced mail to protect the body against offensive weapons, whose weight was constantly increasing. Though impervious to a sword-cut, chain-mail afforded no defence against the bruising stroke of the ponderous battle-axe and marteau; it did not always resist the shaft of the long or cross-bow; and still less could it repel the thrust of the lance, or of the long pointed sword, the first use of which in Italy, the accurate Muratori has assigned to the early part of the thirteenth century. We do not remember, by the bye, that Dr. Meyrick refers at all to the introduction of this weapon.

The monument in Westminster Abbey, of Aylmer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, about 1315, of which Dr. Meyrick has a very interesting plate, is, perhaps, the first English effigy of a knight in complete mixed armour; and another, of the equestrian statue of Bernabo Visconti, lord of Milan, in that city, certainly not of earlier date than 1365, exhibits the same character; with, how-

ever, much nearer approach to plate, both the cuirass and back-piece being of steel over mail. And here we would notice, as a general guide for the chronological comparison of the armour of our island, and of the continent of Europe, a fact which Dr. Meyrick has not sufficiently brought forward—that the progress of the defensive art among our ancestors seems almost invariably to have followed that of the French and Italians, at the distance of from ten to twenty years.

During the wars which filled the chivalrous and glorious reign of our Third Edward, armour underwent many improvements, and passed from the mixed character to the full casing of steel. But we must resist the increased attractions which the subject acquires at this epoch, and be contented to observe that the numerous plates from the monumental effigies of the period which Dr. Meyrick has given, and his remarks upon them, form the most interesting and the best executed part of his inquiry. We must find room for an historical correction, from his account of the battle of Crecy, of a common misconception on the origin of the title of the 'Black Prince,' which the heroic son of Edward acquired for his feats on that glorious day.

'From this time the French began to call the young Prince of Wales, *Le Noir*, or the Black; and in a record, 2d of Richard II. n. 12, he is called the Black Prince. Yet this title does not appear to have originated, as generally supposed, from his wearing black armour, nor is there indeed any thing to show he ever wore such at all.* When, however, he attended at tournaments in France or England, he appeared in a surcoat with a shield, and his horse in a caparison, all black with the white feathers on them, so that it must have been from the covering of his armour that he was so called. Yet in the field of battle, and on all other occasions, his surcoat, or guipon, was emblazoned with the arms of England labelled. The terrible effort of his prowess seems to have given another meaning to his epithet, for Froissart, having described the battle of Poitiers, in 1356, adds, "Thus did Edward the Black Prince, now doubly dyed black by the terror of his arms."—vol. ii. pp. 17, 18.

The circumstances which led to the adoption of complete harness of plates are satisfactorily stated by Dr. Meyrick, and we shall give them in his own words: the reader may take the passage, too, as a fair specimen of the slipshod style of the book:

* In the painting of him, discovered on the wall of St. Stephen's chapel, his armour is gilt; and yet Eustace and Mercœur are there represented in black armour. In the illuminated MSS. he also appears in plain steel armour. Thus in the initial letter to this reign, which is taken from the original one of the grant of the duchy of Aquitaine by Edward III. to the Black Prince, the king appears on a throne of marble, ornamented with a frame of gilt, but both his armour, and that of his son, are steel, with gilt knee and elbow caps. The grant is in the British Museum, in the Cotton Library, marked, Nero DVII.

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'The reason of leaving off the long hauberks, and substituting plate-armour, was the weight of the chain-mail, with its accompanying garments: indeed it was so great, that sometimes the knights were suffocated in it when the heat was excessive; for although the plate-armour was very heavy, it was less so than the coat of mail with the wambais, the plastron, and the surcoat, because there was no need of either of the two former under a cuirass of steel; besides if it was of well-tempered metal, it was neither pierced nor bent by the thrust of the lance, nor pushed into the body of the knight as the mailles used to be, if the wambais, or hoketon, were ever wanting underneath.'—p. 24.

Without following Dr. Meyrick through innumerable details of the composition of plate-armour at different periods after its introduction, we shall select for notice two or three of his plates, which best exhibit its character at considerable intervals of time. The first which we shall take, is copied from a monumental effigy of a knight of the Blanchefront family at Alvechurch, in Worcestershire. Its date is precisely at the close of the fourteenth century, when we may consider plate-armour as having just made its way into common use. The throat and neck of this knight are protected by the camail, a tippet of mail joining the base of the helmet all round, and richly covered with silk. His body is cased in the cuirass and back piece, with the hauberk, still of mail, and an exterior military garment terminating in a puckered apron. The fronts of his thighs seem guarded by plates, and both the legs, from the knees downwards, and the arms, are enclosed in steel casings of two hollow half cylinders, opening and shutting round the limbs by hinges and clasps at the sides. The joints are secured by other plates splendidly ornamented, as well as the shield, which is much smaller than in earlier times. The hands are guarded by plated gauntlets divided at the fingers, and the helmet, of the basinet or scull-cap kind, has its moveable vizor.

From the time when armour passed from the mailed to the mixed character, the helmet had been undergoing continual changes until this epoch; the object, always in some degree imperfectly attained, being, of course, security to the face. The helmet, from being cylindrical, was first made conical, closed all round with a grating for breath and sight; then was introduced the moveable vizor in one piece, pierced as usual, and fastened on pivots to the sides of the basinet to raise at pleasure; and at last, early in the fifteenth century, a covering for the face was invented of several overlapping plates which were drawn up from the chin. This was the *bever*, which, as being raised over the mouth, was probably so called, in contradistinction to the common vizor, from the Italian *bevere* to drink. The crest surmounting

ing the helmet, with a flowing scarf, came first into fashion in the thirteenth century, but we think with Dr. Meyrick, that plumes of feathers were not of earlier use than the beginning of the fifteenth century. The story of the Black Prince adopting the plume of ostrich feathers from the helmet of the king of Bohemia, who fell at Crecy, is evidently erroneous. The plume was a *devise* which young Edward assumed from that monarch's banner, not his helmet.

With all its contrivances, face-armour was defective; and therefore the countenance was usually aimed at in charging with the lance. In the tournament and the battle the knight on this account bent down his head in the assault to leave the face as little exposed as possible. Such is the attitude in an illumination introduced into the initial of the reign of Henry IV., and the custom has not escaped the observation of our poet of chivalry, Sir Walter Scott, who has graced the learning of an antiquary with qualities not always found in combination with it, a splendid imagination and unerring taste.

‘He stooped his head, and couched his spear,
And spurred his steed in full career.’

Chandos, ‘that flowre of chivalre,’ received his death-wound in the Spanish war of the Black Prince, by a lance ‘which was thrust into his face under the left eye between the nose and forehead; it entered, as it was thought, into his brain, so that he fell and twice rolled over with the writhing pain: though he did not die on the spot, he never spoke more.’ Such death by the lance point through the head was not uncommon in the wars of chivalry; and that Henry II. of France was thus mortally wounded in a tournament, for which games, too, a helmet of particular strength and construction was in use, proves, that to the latest days of armour, the face still remained vulnerable.

Among some interesting circumstances in the armour of the fifteenth century was the prevalence of religious and other mottos on the frontlet of the helmet, the hilt of the sword, and other parts of offensive and defensive arms; as, for example, that of the famous Talbot in the reign of Henry VI. who had for inscription on the blade of his sword: ‘*Sum Talboti pro vincere inimicos suos*’—‘I am Talbot’s to conquer his enemies.’—‘A sword,’ says old Fuller, ‘with bad Latin upon it, but good steel within it.’ The cross-hilt of the weapon was often used as a crucifix in the hasty orisons of the warrior, and on this account had the word *Jesus* inscribed on some part of it.

But we must pass through a brilliant series of highly ornamented examples of armour, to the famous suit at the Tower which unquestionably belonged to Henry VII. and may illustrate the perfection

perfection of the art. Nothing can exceed the splendour of this suit, as exhibited in Dr. Meyrick's drawing, covered with engraving and accompanied by a complete harness of steel for the charger on which it is mounted. Another plate of the Emperor Maximilian on horseback, from a rare print, does not yield to it, however, in the elegant form of the armour, the elaborate workmanship of the steel, and the tasteful choice of embellishment. Indeed it is evident from this work that military costume had reached, at the latter part of the fifteenth century, the highest degree of splendour of which it was capable. The disuse of the surcoat, and the transfer of its armorial blazonry, in relief or engraving, to the polished steel, had introduced great variety of decoration. The Italians in particular were famous for this workmanship, and the fashions and the skill of the Milanese armourers were imperfectly copied and emulated in other countries.

In the plate of Henry VII. the puckered skirts of the Blanche-front effigy appear no longer in cloth, but in steel. Pauldrons of the same materials cover and give additional protection to the shoulders; the whole frame is impervious to the lance point; and the plumed helmet completes the panoply. Besides the sword, the thin bladed dagger of the times hangs in its sheath at the girdle on the right side. The use of this dagger had become general since the introduction of plate-armour. It was carried by the knight to dispatch his dismounted and recumbent antagonist by its insertion through the interstices of armour which the lance could not penetrate. It was called the misericorde, because the time of its display was the moment when the worsted cavalier cried for mercy.

Among other points of research our limits compel us to pass briefly over horse armour, with the observation that it seems to have been first used, partially and in mail, before the end of the thirteenth century, and kept pace with other improvements in arms until the charger, as in the plate of Henry VII. came to be fully barded with steel over the head, the chest, the back, and the flanks. In the representation of Maximilian, even the legs of the horse are guarded by narrow plates with joints at the knees and fetlocks; but this was not an usual circumstance.

The perfection of armour in the fifteenth century, while small fire-arms were either not yet in general use or had not been rendered very efficacious, had a singular and unexampled influence upon the state of warfare. For once and for once only in the history of mankind, as an elegant modern writer has observed, the art of defence had outstripped that of destruction. In a charge of lancers many fell unhorsed by the shock and might be suffocated or bruised to death by the pressure of their own armour; but the lance's point could not penetrate the cuirass, the arrow and the quarrel of the

cross-bow glanced away from the well rivetted plates, and the stroke of the sword rang harmlessly upon the helmet, the brassarts and the cuisses of proof. While infantry were powerless and destitute of physical solidity, and armies were numbered only by their array of cuirassiers, battles which were to decide the fate of nations scarcely differed from tournaments *à l'outrance*, or with sharp lances. The prostrate warrior yielded himself before the upraised dagger of his foe, his ransom was regulated by his rank, and while the miserable footmen were slaughtered without mercy in the pursuit, whenever they were dragged into the field by their feudal lords, the vanquished knight was spared by the avarice if not by the humanity of his conqueror. Thus may the bearing of Antient Pistol to his prisoner be received as a touch of the times.

'*Boy*. He prays you to save his life ; he is a gentleman of good house, and for his ransom he will give you two hundred crowns.

'*Pistol*. Tell him—my fury shall abate, and I

The crowns will take.

As I suck blood, I will some mercy shew.'

Still, however, with all the security against wounds which plate-armour afforded, it was attended with many disadvantages. Its enormous weight crippled the limbs and exhausted the strength ; the rays of the sun, in warm climates especially, rendered its heat unsupportable ; and under some circumstances, as in the passage of a river or morass, the danger of death was increased by its unwieldiness. The slightest intrenchment or difficulty of ground was sufficient to stop the advance of an army ; and so impossible was it to oblige an enemy to fight, that (particularly in the frequent Italian wars) it was necessary to level the ground, like the lists of a tournament, on which it was intended by mutual consent to engage. In the French wars of Henry V. which continued in his son's reign, we find the chivalry dismounting to engage on foot with the lance ; but this courageous expedient for coming to close quarters, which had been long an English practice, must have been extremely embarrassing with the ponderous equipment of the fifteenth century.

The indissoluble firmness of the forests of pikes which the Swiss infantry opposed in the middle of that century to the proud array of Charles of Burgundy, gave the first check to the hitherto overwhelming force of the old chivalry, and it is from this epoch, that we date the commencement of the last period of armorial history. But one hundred and fifty years were yet to pass before the mixture of musketeers with pikemen gave a decided superiority to infantry. This is not the place to mark the course of invention and improvement by which fire-arms reached their murderous

derous completion; but experience had scarcely convinced the military world of the inefficacy of steel harness to resist the death shot of the arquebuss and musket, when our James I. wittily expressed his pacific admiration of armour: 'He could not,' he said, 'but greatly praise armour, as it not only protected the wearer, but also prevented him from injuring any other person.' The warriors of his times, however, began to discover that it lacked the best part of these qualities. They first laid aside the jambes or steel boots; then the shield was abandoned, and next the covering for the arms. When the cavalry disused the lance, the cuisses were no longer worn to guard against its thrust, and the stout leathern or buff-coat hung down from beneath the body-armour to the knees, and supplied the place of the discarded steel. The helmet was later deprived of its useless vizor, but before the middle of the seventeenth century nothing remained of the ancient harness but the open cap and the breasts and backs of steel, which the heavy cavalry of the continent have more or less worn to our times. In our service these have been but lately revived for the equipment of the finest cavalry in Europe, the British Life-guards, who, unaided by such defences, tore the laurels of Waterloo from the cuirassiers of France.

ART. III.—*History of a Voyage to the China Sea.* By John White, Lieutenant in the United States Navy. Boston. 8vo. 1823.

WE have two reasons for noticing this little volume; the first is, that we know the author to be a respectable man, and worthy of credit; and the second, that it affords us a peep into one of those corners of the globe, of which we possess little or no information; because the barbarous but conceited inhabitants, in imitation of their somewhat more civilized and more conceited neighbours, affect to consider all the world, besides themselves, at best as one-eyed barbarians, and seek neither the means of intercourse nor improvement. The country to which we allude is the southern extremity of that long neck of land which lies between the two gulphs of Siam and Tonquin, and which, on our charts, is called Cambodia, an evident corruption of the Chinese name *Kan-phou-chi*. This *rump*, as it may be termed, of the Chinese empire, has for some time past been governed by the king of Cochin-china, the person whom the French bishop D'Adran, during a rebellion, assisted very materially in the recovery of his kingdom, and whose son, then a boy, he carried to France and presented to Louis XVI. He, with his father, is since dead; and, as is usual with the unsettled governments of the

East, a competition for the throne is likely to produce another rebellion and its invariable concomitant—a famine.

The French Jesuits, who have written largely on Siam and Laos, both situated at the back of Cambodia, do not seem to have passed the mountains, or to have had any intercourse with the latter country; and a Portuguese of that fraternity, of the name of Santa Cruz, who ventured among them, was held in so little respect by the natives, that he quitted the mission in disgust, and abandoned them to their fate. The only account, therefore, of this country, at least that we are acquainted with, is to be found in the narrative of a Chinese, who was sent thither in an official capacity by the Court of Pekin, in the latter part of the thirteenth century. It is slightly noticed by Père Amyot, in the '*Mémoires Chinois*,' and has recently been translated by M. Abel Remusat.* It is a vague and meagre composition; but may so far be considered curious, as showing how very little change or improvement *time* is able to effect among the people of the East.

The Americans, being in the enjoyment of an unrestricted range for their commercial speculations in every part of the East, on finding that the French had been favourably received in the northern parts of Cochin-china, and boasted of the benefits which were likely to result from it, resolved to try what might be done at the other extremity of this kingdom; and with this view, dispatched two or three of their traders (one of which, the Franklin, was commanded by the author of this volume) to make their way up the Donai River, which falls into a bay close to Cape St. Jacques, and is probably a branch of the great river Cambodia. The latitude of this cape is $10^{\circ} 34' N.$; longitude $160^{\circ} 40' E.$ At the distance of sixty miles from the mouth of the Donai, following the windings of the river, stands the city of Saigon; the intermediate country is a dead flat of alluvial soil, thickly covered to the water's edge with mangroves and other trees, and resembling, in all respects, the sunderbunds of the Ganges.

On entering this river the Franklin was boarded by a number of people whom, from their manners and appearance, Captain White sets down as being in a state of deplorable barbarism. One of them announced himself as a military chief; he was (the Captain says) 'a withered, grey-headed old man, possessing, however, a great deal of vivacity, tinctured with a leaven of savage childishness, which, in spite of his affectation of great state and ceremony, would constantly break out, and afford us infinite amusement.' One of his attendants carried a huge umbrella spread over his head, without which he would not stir a

* *Description du Royaume de Camboge, par un Voyageur Chinois, &c.*

step; another had two little bags strung over his shoulder, containing his areka nut, betel leaf, chunam, and tobacco; a third carried his fan; and the risibility of the Americans was not a little excited on seeing him strutting about the deck, peeping into the cook's coppers, embracing the sailors on the fore-castle, dancing, grinning, and playing many other antic tricks, followed by the whole train of fanners, umbrella-bearers, and chunam boys, with the most grave deportment and solemn visage. A cotton shirt, which had once been white, a pair of black trowsers, a blue jacket, wooden sandals, and a hat of palm leaves rising into a cone, like that of Mother Goose, constituted the dress of the party, some of their clothing being of silk, others of cotton, but every part of it filthy in the extreme.

'This great personage,' Captain White says, 'soon began to court my favour with the most unwearied pertinacity, hugging me round the neck, attempting to thrust his dirty betel nut into my mouth from his own, and leaping upon me like a dog, by which I was nearly suffocated.' The object of this sudden and violent fit of friendship was as suddenly explained; it was to extort a present, which he concluded would be in proportion to his exertions in fawning, during which every thing that caught his eye, and was moveable, was begged for either by himself or by his attendants: on being refused, he immediately changed his conduct, became sulky, and made signs that the ship could not proceed farther up the river. In conclusion, Captain White found it necessary to propitiate him, by a very considerable present, which, together with a large case bottle of rum, that was speedily emptied by him and his attendants, put the illustrious Heo (for that was his title) into high spirits again; and the ship was permitted to ascend to the village of Cangeo, opposite to which she came to anchor.

'On our approach to the shore, our olfactory nerves were saluted with "the rankest compound of villainous smells, that ever offended nostril;" and the natives of the place, men, women, children, swine, and mangy dogs, equally filthy and miserable in appearance, lined the muddy banks of this Stygian stream to welcome our landing. With this escort, we proceeded immediately to the house of the chief, through a fortuitous assemblage of huts, fish-pots, old boats, pig-styes, &c. which surrounded us in every direction; and, in order that no circumstance of ceremony should be omitted to honour their new guests, a most harmonious concert was immediately struck up, by the swarm of little filthy children, in a state of perfect nudity, (which formed part of our procession,) in which they were joined by their parents, and the swine and dogs before mentioned.'—pp. 42, 43.

On entering the hovel of the chief, which was somewhat better than the rest, and distinguished, among other things, by having

two

two large drums at the door, in imitation of a Chinese mandarin's dwelling, the first objects that struck them were two miserable looking wretches with the *cangue*, or walking pillory, round their necks. A coarse screen of split bamboo served as the door to a second apartment, not close enough, however, to hide from view 'the women, children, and pigs behind it, who were amicably partaking together of the contents of a huge wooden tray.' The walls were decorated with rusty swords, matchlocks, gongs, and spears; and in a sort of recess stood a table on which was a little bronze deity, with a censer filled with matches. Before the table, on a raised platform about six feet square, was seated, 'in all the dignity of good behaviour, his head erect, his chest inflated, his arms a-kimbo, and his legs crossed like a tailor's, a venerable looking object with a thin grey beard, which he was stroking most complacently.' This august personage received the strangers with great pomp, and made a long speech, of which they understood nothing: the voice, however, appeared familiar to them; and on a nearer scrutiny, they recognized their recent merry guest, but now their dignified host, the drunken Heo! On descending from his throne, he laid aside his dignity, resumed his natural levity, and was particularly assiduous in cramming his guests with rice and boiled pork, which he tore in pieces with his fingers and thrust into their mouths, to the no little hazard of suffocating them: this was of course meant for civility; but the Americans, who appear to have understood as little of the manners as of the language of this people, warmly resented this outrage on their taste; and a quarrel must have ensued, but for the fortunate intervention of a bottle of rum, (*deus ex machinâ*,) which, as Captain White says, 'ascended into the brain,' and gave him and his countrymen an opportunity of making their escape.

After this the Franklin was several times visited by this ancient chief and his myrmidons, the main object of which was to extort as many presents as possible, not forgetting spirituous liquors, of which they appeared to be excessively fond. Captain White had, from the first, expressed an anxious desire to proceed up the river to Saigon; and several days having now passed away, during which the old man had amused him with the hope of an answer to a dispatch which he pretended to have sent thither, he naturally became impatient, and insisted on proceeding with his ship, or on sending some of his officers in a boat. This brought Heo to confess that no such dispatch had ever been sent, and that, without an order from the king, then at Hué, they could not be permitted to go to Saigon. This daring avowal of his falsehood and duplicity put the Americans out of all patience, and determined them at once to quit the river, and proceed to Turon Bay.

Here

Here they were boarded by a Cochin-chinese boat, and informed that the king had left Hué, and was then in the gulph of Tonquin. Thus foiled a second time, they resolved to proceed to Manilla; and being disappointed of a cargo there, were preparing to depart for Canton, when another American ship, the *Marmion*, which had also been up the Donai as far as the Franklin, a few days after the departure of the latter, arrived, and informed them that a communication had been opened with the governor of Saigon, and that there did not appear to be any obstacle in the way of proceeding up to that city. The two captains, therefore, determined to try in concert what could be done; especially as the *Marmion* had been assured at Cangeo that cargoes of sugar and other articles might be procured there, provided they were paid for in Spanish dollars. On the 6th September, therefore, they left Manilla, and on the 26th anchored once more before the village.

We hear nothing more of Heo and his followers; but they were boarded by another set, pretty much of the same description, who, however, were with less difficulty prevailed upon to forward a dispatch to Saigon, for permission for the ships to proceed thither. In the mean time, the Americans landed, with an intention of exploring the neighbouring country, but were unable to make any progress on account of the mangroves which covered the banks of the river, and whose roots were so interlaced along the swampy surface as to compel them to abandon the attempt. They lost a favourite dog during their excursion, which was not recovered until the third day.

'The most complete metamorphosis had been effected in his character and appearance, by his temporary separation from us; for, from being a lively, playful and bold dog, he had now become dull, morose, and timid, scarcely deigning to notice our caresses; and, from being round and fat, he had become in that short time a mere skeleton. This anecdote, trifling in itself, I should not have mentioned, but for the consequent light it threw on the proneness of these people to superstitious ideas; for they gravely assured us, that the tigers had bewitched the dog, and that he was now endued with supernatural powers, and should no longer be treated as a dog, but as a being of superior intelligence.'—p. 181.

Cangeo is thus described:

'It contains about one hundred huts, built of bamboos and poles; the roofs are thatched with palm leaves, and the floors are of wattles, as before described, raised three or four feet from the earth. Several small creeks intersect the village, over which, bridges of a single plank each are thrown. The interior of the houses is divided into two, and sometimes three apartments. The outer one answers the double purpose of kitchen and parlour, and the inner is the dormitory, common to all the family, where they repose on platforms of plank or split bamboo,

bamboo, covered with mats, raised a few inches from the flooring, and arranged round the walls. Under the houses are enclosures for pigs, ducks, fowls, &c. who receive their sustenance through the floor, which, being quite open, permits the offals of their meals, &c. to pass through, without the trouble of sweeping. The inmates of these filthy hovels are worthy of their habitations. The women are coarse, dingy, and devoid of decency; the children are pot-bellied, and loathsome from dirt, disease, and consequent deformity. The men appear a shade better; few, however, were seen, being out fishing, which is the principal support of the inhabitants.'—pp. 177, 178.

Permission had now arrived for their proceeding up the river, which they did, by help of the tide, to a spacious estuary called by the Portuguese of Macao the *sete-bocas*, or Seven-mouths, from that number of branches falling into it at one spot. The scenery here was 'beautiful, sublime, and romantic, the points of the seven mouths being crowned with lofty and venerable trees, presenting, in the line of each stream, long vistas, fringed on each side with foliage of different shades of verdure, while their polished surfaces reflected, with chastened beauty, the varied tints of the impending forests.' The species of harmony which gave animation to the scenery is, we confess, quite new to us; the only musical marine animals with which we are acquainted being the sea-calves of Canada, which M. de Mouts, who visited that country about two centuries ago, informs us, *sing like night-owls*.

'From the contemplation of this fascinating scene, our attention was diverted to a new and curious phenomenon. Our ears were assailed by a variety of sounds, resembling the deep bass of an organ, accompanied by the hollow guttural chaunt of the bull frog, the heavy chime of a bell, and the tones which imagination would give to an enormous jew's harp. This combination produced a thrilling sensation on the nerves, and, as we fancied, a tremulous motion in the vessel. The excitement of great curiosity was visible on every white face on board, and many were the sage speculations of the sailors on this occasion. Anxious to discover the cause of this gratuitous concert, I went into the cabin, where I found the noise, which I soon ascertained proceeded from the bottom of the vessel, increased to a full and uninterrupted chorus. The perceptions which occurred to me on this occasion were similar to those produced by the torpedo, or electric eel, which I had before felt. But whether these feelings were caused by the concussion of sound, or by actual vibrations in the body of the vessel, I could neither then, or since, determine. In a few moments, the sounds, which had commenced near the stern of the vessel, became general throughout the whole length of the bottom.

'Our linguist informed us, that our admiration was caused by a shoal of fish, of a flat oval form, like a flounder, which, by a certain conformation of the mouth, possesses the power of adhesion to other objects in a wonderful degree, and that they were peculiar to the Seven

Mouths.

Mouths: But whether the noises we heard were produced by any particular construction of the sonoric organs, or by spasmodic vibrations of the body, he was ignorant. Very shortly after leaving the basin, and entering upon the branch through which our course lay, a sensible diminution was perceived in the number of our musical fellow voyagers, and before we had proceeded a mile they were no more heard.—pp. 187, 188.

We may here remark, that, precisely on the same spot, on their return down the river, they were again saluted with a submarine serenade from this invisible band of tuneful Tritons.

The Donai was found to preserve its depth from eight to fifteen fathoms, having seldom less than three to the very banks, to which the ships could stand so close alongside, that Captain White says, 'their yards were interlocked with the trees, the branches of which overhung the decks, that were strewed with their verdure.' Hitherto the country appeared to have no inhabitants but monkies, parrots, and other species of chattering birds; on the seventh day of this tedious navigation, however, a few scattered cottages began to make their appearance, together with patches of cultivated ground, groves of cocoa and areka nuts, herds of buffaloes, fishing boats, and a distant forest of masts, all indicating their approach to the city, below which, at the distance of a mile, they dropped anchor.

The huts on the bank near them did not materially raise their ideas of the domestic comfort or general habits of the people; yet the appearance of several boats, of light and airy construction, each managed by a single woman, was to them a novel and a pleasing sight; while great numbers of the native vessels, plying in various directions, gave a somewhat lively interest to the scene. The women's boats are each composed of the single trunk of a tree, and sculled with a single elastic oar: several of them came alongside the Franklin, laden with various choice tropical fruits, and every other article of food. Among the former were plantains, bananas, pine-apples, lemons, limes, guavas, jacks, mangoes, shaddocks, pomegranates, and oranges of various kinds, one of which, of a rich gold colour, Captain White says, was very large, and contained as much juice, of a most delicious flavour, as would fill a moderate sized tumbler. They had, besides, sweet potatoes, yams, and sugar-canes, confectionary of various kinds, and rice cakes of a snowy whiteness. Tea and rice whiskey, or arrack, the common beverage of the country, were also articles of sale; but Captain White, we apprehend, is mistaken in supposing that the inferior kind of tea, used by the poorer people, is named *cha-hué*, 'because it is indigenous to the district of Hué'; the

name

name is *cha-hua*, or 'flower of tea,' and is the coarser leaf of the *camellia sesanqua*, which is also made use of in China.

The Americans took lodgings at the house of one *Pasquali*, (have they operas at Saigon?) a Tagal, from Luçonia, where they were soon beset by a number of females, anxiously inquiring what merchandize they had for sale, what they were in pursuit of, what the prices were, &c. The greater part of mercantile business is transacted by females, just as it was when the Chinese envoy visited this country. Chinese adventurers were then, as now, the only competitors with whom the Cambodian women had to contend in their trading occupations; and Chinese pedlars, cooks, and confectioners are still to be seen in every bazar and every street.

Having settled the etiquette on appearing before the governor, (always a momentous affair among orientals,) and which, on this occasion, was only to be *three bows* in tender consideration of their being strangers, and unhappily ignorant of the genuine mode of performing the proper ceremony, they lost no time in paying their visit. They landed at the great bazar or market-place, which they observed to be well stocked with a variety of fruits and provisions, exposed for sale mostly by females; hence they 'progressed' along a wide and regular street, having many of its houses built of wood and covered with tiles, but others of a very humble description, and none of them exceeding the height of one story.

'Toiling,' says our author, 'under a scorching sun, through a street strewn with every species of filth; beset by thousands of yelping mangy curs; stunned alike by them and the vociferations of an immense concourse of the wondering natives, whose rude curiosity in touching and handling every part of our dress, and feeling of our hands and faces, we were frequently obliged to chastise with our canes, were among the amenities which were presented us on this our first excursion into the city.'—p. 219.

At the end of this street, however, the scene was changed for one of a more agreeable nature. The route now lay through a covered way, walled with brick, where they got rid both of the biped and quadruped '*canaille*;' at the end of this covered way was a handsome bridge of stone and earth, thrown over a deep and broad moat, which led to one of the gates of the citadel, whose walls of brick and earth, about twenty feet high, and of immense thickness, enclosed a quadrilateral area of three quarters of a mile. Within this enclosure the viceroy and military officers reside, and there are said to be commodious barracks, sufficiently spacious to quarter fifty thousand troops! The royal palace stands in the centre, in the midst of a beautiful grove of about eight acres; it is built of brick, and about one hundred and sixty feet

feet square, enclosed with verandas. The apartments for the ladies and domestic officers are behind this, in which, it would seem, they are constantly shut up; for on the strangers observing them peeping through some trellis work, they were immediately driven back by a person who appeared to have the special charge of them. The roofs of these buildings are covered with glazed tiles, and ornamented with dragons and other monsters, similar to those of China. The viceroy's house was about eighty feet square, and also covered with tiles. Here, on a platform raised about three feet from the ground,—

' was seated, in the Asiatic style, cross-legged, and stroking his thin white beard, the acting governor (officiating in the viceroy's absence); a meagre, wrinkled, cautious looking old man, whose countenance, though relenting into a dubious smile, indicated any thing but fair dealing and sincerity. On the platforms, on each side, were seated, their different degrees of rank indicated by their proximity to the august representative of the sovereign, mandarins and officers of state of various dignity. Files of soldiers, with their two-handed swords, and shields covered with indurated buffalo hides, highly varnished, and studded with iron knobs, were drawn up in various parts of the hall. We walked directly up in front till we arrived at the entrance of the central vista, between the ranges of platforms on each side of the throne, when we *doffed our beavers*, and made three respectful bows in the European style, which salutation was returned by the governor by a slow and profound inclination of the head.'—pp. 222, 223.

The Americans wished at once to have the business of the port duties, and of the *presents*, (without which there is nothing to be done,) settled, but the great man declined entering upon any kind of business, and dismissed them with a little tea and sweetmeats.

On their return, they passed a large *bungulo*, under which were arranged about two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, of various calibres and fashions, many of them brass, chiefly of European manufacture, generally mounted on ship-carriages in different stages of decay; among them was a train of a dozen pieces of field-artillery, each marked with *fleurs de lis*, and bearing the name of Louis XIV. This enclosure was entered by four gates, with square buildings, having tiled roofs over them. In one quarter of the area was a cemetery, containing several 'barbarously splendid mausoleums, in the Chinese style; many of them exhibiting specimens of no bad sculpture, as was also the case with regard to the bridges, 'which were decorated with various military and religious *bas reliefs*.' The magazines of naval and military stores, arms, provisions, &c. consisted of six buildings, enclosed with paling. Pleasant walks in various directions intersect this enclosure, and being planted on each side

side with the palmaria, not only afford shelter, but, in the season of flowering, impregnate the air to a great distance with their odoriferous perfume. Several elephants of an enormous size were observed: their attendants blow into a hollow piece of wood, which is said to produce a noise similar to that of blowing into the bung-hole of an empty cask, to give notice of their approach; for they will not take the trouble to turn aside for any trifling impediment, such as old women with their stalls in the bazar, who, on hearing the horn, generally pack up and scamper away with their wares. These animals have a duty to perform which is quite new to us. Saigon, being built of wood, is subject to frequent fires. On such occasions the viceroy, mounted on an elephant, leads forward the whole troop who, setting their heads against the houses next to those on fire, speedily level them to the ground, and thus prevent the flames from spreading. This feat they had an opportunity of seeing performed in great perfection.

On the banks of a deep creek was situated the naval arsenal, where, during the rebellion, the French built for the king two frigates. Captain White, who tells us that 'the ship timber and planks excelled any thing he had ever seen,' measured one of the latter, which was of teak, and found it to be 109 feet long, above four inches thick, and perfectly square to the top, where it was two feet wide. He has seen trees, he adds, in the country that would make main masts for ships of the line, clear of knots. In the arsenal were 150 galleys, of most beautiful construction, hauled up under sheds, from forty to a hundred feet in length, and some of them mounting sixteen guns, three-pounders; others four or six guns, from four to twelve-pounders, all of brass, and exquisitely finished. Besides these were about forty other galleys afloat, prepared for an expedition up the river.

On the western part of the city was a canal, just finished, twenty-three English miles in length, eighty feet wide, and twelve feet deep, cut through immense forests and morasses, and completed in the short space of six weeks. It connects the Donai with the great river of Cambodia. 'Twenty-six thousand men were employed, night and day, by turns, in this stupendous undertaking, and seven thousand lives sacrificed by fatigue, and consequent disease.' The banks were planted with the palmaria, which is also common in the streets of the suburbs; and they passed an immense cemetery, surrounded with rows of the same tree, 'resembling,' says Captain White, 'if the comparison be not too daring, the Boulevards at Paris.'

Close to the city, and near the bank of the river, was a long range

range of buildings of handsome construction; these were the magazines of rice, which is a royal monopoly, and can only be exported by special permission, on pain of death. A number of temples, similar to the Chinese pagodas, and dedicated to Boudh and his subordinate deities, are scattered over the city. The streets generally intersect each other at right angles, and some of them are described as very spacious. The houses are of brick, covered with tiles, but the greater part are of wood, thatched with palm leaves, or rice-straw. Captain White informs us, on the authority of a missionary, confirmed by that of the viceroy, that Saigon contains one hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants, of whom about ten thousand are Chinese.

We confess we were not prepared for such a display as this city and the interior of the royal and military enclosure present; and had always felt inclined to suspect our old acquaintance, the Chinese traveller, of seeing, like the extatic Tilburina, *what was not yet in sight*, when he talked of the capital being twenty *lee* (six miles) in circuit—of its great gates and deep moats—of its boulevards planted with spreading trees—of its bridges, with statues of the gods in menacing attitudes, fifty-four in number, at the end of each—of elephants sculptured in stone, gigantic heads of Boudh, &c. We now judge somewhat more favourably of him, especially as it appears from Captain White's narrative, that nothing could be more correctly described than the branching river, and the forests (composed of ancient trees, climbing plants and creepers) which, as he says, 'cover the plains on either side, forming one continued darkened impenetrable wood, where no voice is heard but that of birds and beasts, and not an inch of cultivated ground is visible.'

But the works and buildings of Saigon, considerable as they are, dwindle into nothing when compared with those at Hué, the capital and constant residence of the king. For the last twenty years he is said to have lavished immense sums, and sacrificed the lives of thousands, in the construction of ramparts and fortifications: yet, says Captain White, whom has he to fear? This is a question which we cannot readily answer; but his Cambodian Majesty is scarcely wasting his revenue in military preparations against the kites and crows. To be frank, we suspect that we are in danger, under the guidance of our author, of underrating both the understanding and the power of this singular people. Certainly, as the Greek philosopher said of the geometrical problems traced on a foreign strand, 'these are not the productions of barbarians!' Still, however, as we have nothing positive to advance in support of our opinion, we must be content to take Captain White's statements as we find them, till the

visit of some more experienced traveller shall enable us to speak with greater decision.

The following account of this unapproachable city (for Lord Macartney also sued in vain for permission to visit it) was furnished by M. Vannier, a Frenchman, admiral to the king.

'It is certainly a stupendous object, and would be esteemed so even in Europe. It is situated upon a barred river, accessible to large vessels at high water only. It is surrounded by a ditch nine miles in circumference, and about one hundred feet broad; its walls are of brick, laid in a cement, of which sugar is a principal ingredient, and are sixty feet high; the pillars of the gates, which are of stone, are seventy feet high; over the arches, which are of the same materials, are towers from ninety to one hundred feet high, to which access is had by a handsome flight of stairs, on each side of the gate way inside the walls. The fortress is of a quadrilateral form, and built on the plan of Strasburg in Germany. It has twenty-four bastions, each mounting thirty-six guns, and the distance between each bastion is twelve hundred Cochinchinese perches, of fifteen feet each; the smallest guns are eighteen pounders, and the largest are sixty-eight pounders, cast in the king's own foundry. The whole number of guns to be mounted, when the works are completed, is twelve hundred. The casements within the fort are bomb proof.'—pp. 263, 264.

Captain White finds no fault with the climate; 'it is as fine,' he says, 'as that of any other country within the torrid zone; the periodical winds passing over and refreshing every part of it.' We doubt, however, the 'fineness' of the great belt of forest which extends from the city to the sea. Saigon itself, being situated at the foot of the hilly country which divides Cambodia from Siam, may be healthy: the thermometer, in the month of October, ranged from 80° to 85° in the shade, and the rains were heavy and almost constant. The produce of the country is various and valuable: from the mountains the natives procure gold, silver, copper, and iron; and from the forests, a great variety of valuable woods for building, for perfumes, and for dying. They have rice of six different kinds, sugar, pepper, sago, cassia, cinnamon, areka, betel, tobacco, cotton, raw silk, indigo, and many other articles, well adapted for a foreign market. Antelopes of various kinds, deer and hares are brought from the hills; peacocks, pheasants and partridges are plentiful, and water-fowls of all kinds swarm in the creeks and rivers. Elephants, rhinoceroses, and tigers abound in the woods, and are hunted for their ivory, horns and skins. The horn of the rhinoceros is a royal monopoly, and is greatly affected by the Chinese: the test of its goodness is the strength of the noise heard when the concave root is applied to the ear, as shells are by our children to hear if 'the tide be coming in.' One of the large striped tigers was presented to

Captain

Captain White by the viceroi; it was a beautiful female, five feet long and three feet high. He kept her on board till, by *bad weather*, (for which we are truly thankful,) he lost the 'live stock of puppies and kids provided for her,' when they were under the necessity of shooting the royal beast, of whom he relates the following anecdote:—

'In Saigon, where dogs are "dog cheap," we used to give the tygress one every day. They were thrown alive into her cage, when, after playing with her victim for a while, as a cat does with a mouse, her eyes would begin to glisten, and her tail to vibrate, which were the immediate precursors of death to the devoted little prisoner, which was invariably seized by the back of the neck, the incisors of the sanguinary beast perforating the jugular arteries, while she would traverse the cage, which she lashed with her tail, and suck the blood of her prey, which hung suspended from her mouth.

'One day, a puppy, not at all remarkable, or distinguishable in appearance, from the common herd, was thrown in, who immediately, on perceiving his situation, set up a dismal yell and attacked the tygress with great fury, snapping at her nose, from which he drew some blood. The tygress appeared to be amused with the puny rage of the puppy, and with as good-humoured an expression of countenance, as so ferocious an animal could be supposed to assume, she affected to treat it all as play; and sometimes spreading herself at full length on her side, at others, crouching in the manner of the fabled sphinx, she would ward off with her paw, the incensed little animal, till he was finally exhausted. She then proceeded to caress him, endeavouring by many little arts to inspire him with confidence, in which she finally succeeded, and in a short time they lay down together and slept. From this time they were inseparable; the tygress appearing to feel for the puppy all the solicitude of a mother, and the dog, in return, treating her with the greatest affection; and a small aperture was left open in the cage, by which he had free ingress and egress. Experiments were subsequently made, by presenting a strange dog at the bars of the cage, when the tygress would manifest great eagerness to get at it; her adopted child was then thrown in, on which she would eagerly pounce; but immediately discovering the cheat, she would caress it with great tenderness. The natives made several unsuccessful attempts to steal this dog from us.'—pp. 255—257.

Neither our Chinese author nor Captain White gives a very flattering account of the manners and character of the people:—the upper ranks, and particularly those in public employments, are quite as well skilled in all the tricks which their situations afford them the opportunity of practising, as their prototypes in China, though perhaps they perform them in a more clumsy and barefaced style. It appears, indeed, that they imitate the Chinese, not only in the approved mode of practising on the purses and patience of their visitors, but in their dress and man-

ners, and, as we collect from the work before us, look up to them as the *beau idéal* of all that is tasteful and accomplished, even to the immeasurable length of their nails. In one respect, indeed, they differ from them; they permit their women to go abroad. A lady of high rank, Captain White says, visited the Franklin; and he seems to think, generally speaking, that there is no restriction on the ladies of Saigon.

Many of the young females are handsome, before their teeth, tongue, gums, and lips are stained with that detestable masticatory compound of lime, betel and areka; but from this practice and their general dirty habits, at thirty they are objects of disgust, at forty, absolutely hideous. Like the Japanese ladies, they wear a number of loose robes one over the other, the undermost being the longest; and as they are always of different colours they give the appearance of the wearer being girded with a number of various coloured belts; their hats are of bamboo, and resemble a large inverted saucer.

These are of the superior casts; the middling and lower order of females are, as we have said, the principal merchants, and were so when our Chinese traveller was there: for he observes, that when his countrymen go thither to trade, the first thing they do is to take a Cambodian woman into their service and give her the management of their commercial concerns. We can scarcely credit him, however, when he adds, that the women possess so little decency that they may be daily seen in groups sometimes to the number of a thousand, swimming about in the river in a perfect state of nudity from head to foot, even those of the highest condition. 'The Chinese,' says he, with somewhat of naiveté, 'take great pleasure in seeing their sports in the water, and I have heard say, that love-adventures sometimes take place among these bathers.' Captain White is silent on this subject, and also on another, of which, indeed, he might not easily have gained information, supposing it to exist. When girls arrive at the age of ten or eleven years, it is necessary, the Chinese says, that they should undergo a ceremony which is called *khin-thou*, and which is no other than being shut up at night with a priest of Boudh, until which she is not deemed to be marriageable. If we did not know the corrupt practices of the priests of *Fo* and *Tao-tse*, and the gross superstitions of their ignorant followers, we should be apt to discredit this part of the account; but we believe there is nothing too vicious for men of their depraved habits. Females among all the oriental nations being considered as marketable commodities, and generally disposed of to those who are willing to bid highest for them, we should not be surprised if the processions with music and banners to the houses of the young ladies

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to be initiated, which take place on this occasion, were meant to announce their fitness for the marriage state—a sort of ceremony of *bringing them out*. The honeymoon is observed for eight days, during which the young couple are shut up in the house, with lights burning day and night. Though those who are not so fortunate as to procure husbands are not required to be very strict in observing the rules of chastity, yet after marriage, any offence against it is punished at the husband's pleasure; and Captain White says, the usual mode is to tie the offending parties back to back, and throw them from a bridge into the river.

Our author does not seem to have entered much into the habits of the natives, during his four months' residence, or to have extended his inquiries beyond the sphere of his immediate connection with them: even this, however, was more than enough, he says, to convince him that, from the highest to the lowest, they are totally destitute of every feeling of truth and honour. From such a people the Americans had not to expect much mercantile punctuality or integrity, but they could not have anticipated the vexatious delays, evasions, and tricks which were hourly practised upon them. Their object was to procure cargoes of sugar; but the moment this was discovered, the article rose at least a hundred per cent. in the market, as did every other article which they inquired after. On complaining to the governor of this imposition, he inveighed with great acrimony against the sugar-holders, and desired them not to be in a hurry, as these unreasonable people must at last come to their terms; the following day they discovered that 'the old rogue was the principal sugar-holder in the district.' As it was still, however, their interest to be on civil terms with this 'old rogue,' the Americans invited him to their lodgings. On observing a double-barrelled gun, he expressed great admiration at the workmanship, and wished to borrow it for a shooting excursion on the following day; but 'his excellency' forgot to return it, and Captain White never saw it more. His excellency, moreover, hinted at the port duties payable on the ships, and which they were ready to pay; but he refused to take the Spanish dollar at the rate in current copper money which it would purchase in the market. They therefore offered to pay him in the copper coin of the country which they would themselves purchase and to which, after some demur, he appeared to accede. But they were little aware of the trouble they were thus bringing upon themselves, and the way in which their purpose would be defeated.

This copper money is precisely the same as that used in Japan, but somewhat larger, with a hole in the middle, like that

of China ; six or seven hundred being about equivalent to a Spanish dollar. Having purchased a part of the coin, Captain White says, ' the united efforts of four of us could enable us to count, assort, and new string, *only* the value of fifteen hundred dollars in more than a week.' When they had at length collected a part of this portion which was to be received on account, ' the Marmion's launch was freighted with it, and dispatched for the custom-house ; and it was, as may be supposed, a matter of curiosity, to see a stout long-boat of a ship of nearly four hundred tons, deeply laden with coin, amounting in value to only seven hundred and fifty Spanish dollars, and weighing nearly two and a half tons !'

On arriving at the custom-house the officers were not in attendance, though due notice had been given ; when they came it was nearly dark, and on being asked for a receipt, ' they affected to laugh, and told us that it was too late to do any business that night, but that in the morning they would count and examine it.' What was now to be done ? they could not trust the money with such people, and the tide had ebbed out of the creek ; the only alternative was to let it remain in the custom-house, which was entirely open in front, and send for an armed guard from each ship. The only disturbance this guard met with during the night was from an enormous serpent, at least (as they thought) fifteen feet long, which came out of the river and crawled into the custom-house, gliding between the *stacks* of money, when they lost sight of it, nor could the strictest search with the lamp enable them again to discover it. The sailors insisted that it must have been either the devil in his primitive disguise, or a real serpent trained by the rascally natives to frighten them from their posts, and compel them to leave the treasure unguarded.

At mid-day the officers attended, and began the operation of counting, practising every art, says Captain White, to vex and annoy us, rejecting every piece that had the least flaw in it, so that having finished about a hundred dollars there appeared to be a loss of about *ten per cent.* ' Suspecting the fellows in attendance to have secreted some of the money, we insisted on searching them ; and when it was actually found to be the case they were not the least disconcerted at the discovery, but laughed in our faces in the most provoking manner.' When they sought redress from the governor, he told them he could not interfere in the custom-house department, but kindly advised them to make up their dispute with the officers by a sum of money, which would induce them to dispense with counting, or to pay, as he had originally proposed to them, in Spanish dollars at a discount
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on the market price, and to satisfy the custom-house officers for the trouble they had been at. 'In short,' continues the captain, 'we were under the necessity of succumbing to these harpies.'

This affair brought upon them a host of enemies, who took occasion to wreak their vengeance on the strangers by personal ill-treatment. On the same evening, while sitting in the veranda, they were assailed by a shower of stones; they immediately ran to the quarter from which it proceeded, but all was quiet, not a person to be seen, though the moon shone bright. Their landlady came out to know what was the matter, and while talking with her another shower from invisible hands fell upon them, and bruised several of them; they again sallied forth, searching every place where a person might be supposed to conceal himself, but without success. They had scarcely returned to the veranda when a third volley was discharged, which fairly drove them into the house; and this annoyance was repeated almost every evening afterwards, and sometimes in mid-day; 'but no search, inquiry, or offer of reward for the detection of the offenders could elicit any information, neither could we ever divine the cause of it.' In truth the American captains and their crews appear to be no conjurers. They could not, with all their pains, discover a Cambodian in the disguise of an alligator; and here they are puzzling themselves to as little purpose. We think we can assist them to unravel the mystery. The governor's house stood in an enclosure directly opposite to their lodgings, and 'the stones came from the direction of the governor's house.' Now as they hesitated to purchase sugar, of which he was a large holder, at a hundred per cent. above the common market price, and to pay him the duties in dollars, so that he might pocket the discount, we think they might have given a shrewd guess at whose instance they were thus continually pelted. We complained to him, says Captain White, of this disgraceful treatment; he answered that *he* was frequently molested in the same manner; and this was all the satisfaction they could obtain.

The Americans now resolved to try, in their turn, what a *fetch of wit* on their part might do to induce the Cambodians to lower their prices. They paid the whole of the duties on the ships, filled their water-casks, bent some of their sails, sent on board all their packages, and made apparent preparations for their immediate departure. A week passed without effect—the sugar-merchants showing 'the same dogged indifference' as before; and on asking the linguists if they thought these people would suffer them to depart without cargoes, they were not a little mortified to be answered with great coolness, 'that the Cochinchinese were too well versed in deception to be blinded by the shallow

shallow artifice we had adopted, and that they were willing to try which could hold out the longest.'

Thus fairly outwitted, and having remained from September to the end of January, they were obliged at last to take the sugar at the price of the holders, the whole of which, after all, was not equal to half a cargo for each of the two ships. The duties and the presents for the governor, mandarins, secretaries, &c. amounted to two thousand seven hundred and eight dollars for the Franklin alone, 'nearly half the amount of the net invoice of sugar taken on board!' 'I shall, I think,' says Captain White, 'be readily believed when I state that few tears were shed by us on our departure from a place where we had encountered so much trouble and vexation—and which I consider as the least desirable country on earth for mercantile adventurers.'

Here then, we take for granted, terminates all American speculation on a successful trade with Cochin-china. The French appear to be equally disgusted. In 1819 two officers only remained in the service of the king, since which one has returned in a frigate which made an unsuccessful voyage, partly political and partly commercial, to Turon Bay; the other, M. Vannier, the king's admiral at Hué, had requested, as Captain White was informed, permission to quit the country, but without success.

The impression left upon our minds by the perusal of this 'Voyage' is, that of all the nations in the east, the Cochin-chinese Cambodians stand the lowest in the moral scale. The Malay, when actuated by fierce passions, is utterly regardless of human life, but he possesses a manly courage, intelligence, ingenuity and industry. The Hindoo, careless of truth, and the victim of superstition, is nevertheless orderly in all his habits, cleanly, abstemious, sober, and attentive to the duties which his religion prescribes. The Chinese, with all their pride, craft and fraud, are a quiet and industrious people, ceremonious and civil, never openly outraging the decencies of life;—but it does not appear that the Cambodians possess one redeeming virtue, one amiable quality, as a set-off against their grovelling and disgusting vices.

ART. IV.—*Voyages dans la Grande-Bretagne, entrepris relativement aux Services Publics de la Guerre, de la Marine, et des Ponts et Chaussées, depuis 1816. Troisième Partie, FORCE COMMERCIALE.* Par Charles Dupin. 2 tom. Paris. 1824.

WE have had occasion more than once to introduce M. Dupin to the notice of our readers, and, in one instance, to find serious fault with him for a statement, as uncalled for as it was unfounded,

unfounded, which charged the British government with cruel and inhuman conduct towards French prisoners of war. In general, however, we must do him the justice to say that, in the thankless task which he has undertaken, of comparing the institutions of Great Britain, and her naval, military, commercial and manufacturing strength, or capacity, with those of France respectively, he has exhibited more candour, and arrived at a greater degree of accuracy, than might have been expected from the pen of a Frenchman, always jealous of a nation which he is pleased to call, *par excellence*, his rival. In the volumes before us, we meet with, what indeed was scarcely to be avoided, a repetition of many passages contained in the former ones, together with a good deal of detail not particularly interesting to the English reader—but we also find considerable portions of new matter of a contrary description.

M. Dupin is in the habit of announcing his labours in a preliminary discourse, which is read either before the Academy of Sciences or the Institute, two learned bodies, who are supposed to combine all the science and philosophy of France. That some little *fanfaronnade* should appear in these discourses, to qualify and soften down the unacceptable eulogy which they pronounce on the wisdom, energy and prosperity of a rival nation, is natural enough, and might therefore be expected—*hæc sunt solatia, hæc fomenta dolorum*. It does not appear, however, that the Academy received his last eulogy on Great Britain in that uncourteous manner which his former discourse experienced from the Institute. Impressed with the value of 'the noble patience of his auditors,' he lays hold of the circumstance of their forbearance as an argument to prove the superior liberality and generosity of the French nation; for, says he, in a sort of triumphant tone, 'an Englishman would not have dared to pronounce a panegyric on the works of France *au sein de la Société de Londres*.' The Royal Society of London, however, allowed a Frenchman, as M. Dupin very well knows, to lay claim, without the slightest foundation, to the invention of Seppings's system of naval architecture, on the part of several of his countrymen! though we long ago incontestibly proved* that neither in theory nor in practice could any of those attempts of Bouguer, Gobert and Groignard be of the least service in giving additional strength to ships, and that none of them bore the slightest resemblance to the system of diagonal braces and riders, first introduced by Sir Robert Seppings, and successfully made use of in all our ships of war.

There is nothing new, however, in Frenchmen laying claim to

* See Q. R. No. XXIV.

the inventions and discoveries of others; and we were prepared to find M. Dupin seeking *his solatium*, in a recurrence to this authentic practice, for the mortification which he occasionally appears to feel at the humiliating contrast he is compelled to draw between the power and the prosperity of England and France. The 'soothing unction' is—that *we* are only the imitators, while *they* are the inventors. There is an old proverb, which says that the French invented the ruffle, but the English added the shirt; and M. Dupin's examples are pretty much of this kind. Thus, for instance, 'le pont du Strand,' which he tells us the English have surnamed 'Waterloo,' is broadly asserted to have been built in imitation of the bridge of Neuilly; and to have had its new name imposed on it in imitation of the French, 'who, in the days of their triumphs, designated the bridges and the streets with which they embellished their capital, by the names of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Wagram, of Rivoli, of Marengo, of Frejus, of Fontenoi, &c.' Thus, again, the first canal constructed in England, that of the Duke of Bridgewater, between Manchester and Liverpool, is asserted to be a mere imitation of the canal of Briare, 'the first example of so beautiful a conception, set by Frenchmen.' We are pretty certain that Brindley never saw nor heard of the 'canal of Briare.'

The leading object of M. Dupin, in the present portion of his labours, is to develop the great principles upon which the commercial power, involving the wealth and strength of Great Britain, is rooted; with the view, and a laudable one it unquestionably is, of stimulating his countrymen to tread in her steps, by calling into action the same principles, and adopting the same measures, which have been productive of such happy consequences in the British islands. And the better to enable them to set about this grand reformation, he thinks it necessary, not only to describe the lines and connections of all the great roads and canals which intersect the kingdom, but to enter into a minute detail of the preparatory proceedings requisite to obtain the sanction of the legislature for the construction of new ones, or the enlargement, alteration or repair of the old ones. He traces the progress of the bills through both houses of parliament; the subsequent proceedings of forming joint-stock companies, committees of management, the process of valuing private property which may be invaded, and other particulars which, though, as we have said, of little interest to the English reader, may neither be unacceptable nor useless to his countrymen, provided they ever arrive at that point of improvement which will admit of similar proceedings being carried into practice in France.

We make this proviso, because, at present, we have great doubts

doubts whether France be in a condition to undertake works of the kind which M. Dupin has described. The public mind in that country is not yet sufficiently enlightened: nor do we perceive that the government has yet shown a disposition to introduce or encourage any rational and liberal system of education. In this respect the Revolution, so far from conferring any benefit, has plunged them in deeper ignorance than before; we mean, of course, as to the generality of the nation. Our author speaks strongly, and we believe justly, on the neglect of education of the lower orders in France, and recommends schools to be established on the Bell and Lancaster system. 'Let us hope,' he says, 'that these schools, in which instruction is so rapid, and in which youth is so well accustomed to discipline, to obedience, to reflection, will be propagated more and more in our "Belle France"'—but 'alas!' he adds, 'since the period in which I conceived this hope, so bewitching to the heart of the good citizen, deplorable prejudices have repelled with rage, and by every means, one of the fittest methods to secure to Frenchmen the superiority of knowledge and intellect—a superiority which can alone preserve them in the first rank among civilized nations.' Louis XVIII. may issue his ordinances for the restitution of the Jesuits, and the endowing of Scotch colleges, but such institutions contribute nothing towards the intellectual improvement of the great mass of the people. France, besides, labours under a want which is not likely soon to be supplied. She has none of that highly respectable and useful class of society which is composed of country gentlemen—men living on their own estates, and contributing to the comforts and the mental improvement of the neighbouring peasantry; of course she has no unpaid magistracy to take a lead in encouraging works of public utility, and to plan and superintend such as are calculated for the general improvement of the country. The public credit, though rapidly improving, is not yet sufficiently established, nor has it taken that steady shape, to enable either the government or individuals to undertake large and extensive works, especially such as trench on the interests of private property, for which indemnification is to be granted. In such cases, M. Dupin admits, every one endeavours to get, and every one is ready to give, far beyond the real value. 'It seems,' he adds, 'as if money extracted from the treasury of the state, was considered as *autant de pris sur l'ennemi*!' Private property is besides so very much divided in France, as to cause a general want of great capitalists, without the assistance of whom no works of magnitude can be undertaken with any chance of success. On this point M. Dupin seems to be wholly mistaken. He says—

* On se plaint en France que les fortunes sont trop petites; on croit qu'en

qu'en Angleterre toutes les lois ont pour but de favoriser la grande propriété. Eh bien! sur le sujet qui nous occupe, les lois anglaises ont tout fait, au contraire, en faveur de la petite propriété. Non-seulement tout individu qui possède un capital de 2,500 fr. peut devenir actionnaire d'un pont, d'un canal, ou d'un bassin; mais, quand il n'aurait que la moitié, que le quart, et même que le huitième de ce petit capital, il pourrait encore devenir propriétaire d'une portion de ces travaux publics. Cette admirable loi semble conçue pour la France. En l'adoptant, sachons proportionner le taux des actions à la modicité de nos fortunes, ainsi qu'à la valeur de l'argent plus grande chez nous que chez les Anglais. Qu'avec 300 fr., qu'avec 200 fr. seulement, on puisse être membre d'une *Cie.* de travaux publics. Formons des associations de 500, de 1,000, de 2,000 petits capitalistes, et d'un plus grand nombre si nous le pouvons. Ayons aussi pour ce genre d'industrie, notre *petit-grand-livre*, comme nous l'avons pour les placemens sur nos fonds publics. Alors nous intéresserons à la bonne construction, au parfait entretien de nos voies commerciales, les grandes, les moyennes et les petites fortunes.—tom. i. p. 85.

It is true, a man in England may hold a single share of £50, or half the sum, in a canal or turnpike-road; but M. Dupin deceives himself if he supposes that any great undertaking is ever set afloat by associations of little proprietors. No, it must originate with, and every preparatory step be taken for carrying it into execution by, large proprietors, extensive manufacturers, wealthy merchants and bankers, a few of whom, perhaps half the number, become responsible for the funds of the whole concern, in the first instance, and afterwards distribute a certain number of shares among their friends and customers, who again send them to market, where, like any other article of sale, they bear a profit or loss according to their real or estimated value. At the moment we write this, we are informed that one million of money has been subscribed by *nineteen* persons, to be laid out in excavating a new dock on the side of the Thames, at St. Catherine's. Until France, therefore, has its large landed proprietors, its opulent manufacturers, merchants and bankers, spread over the country, M. Dupin's scheme of a '*petit-grand-livre*,' he may be assured, will never succeed—will never be tried.

There are many other obstacles which stand in the way of the commercial career of France rivalling that of England, which M. Dupin seems to flatter himself may be done by treading closely in her steps. Without mentioning the scarcity of coal and iron in that country—two articles to the abundance of which England is not a little indebted for her manufacturing and commercial prosperity—we may class among the obstacles that will retard her progress, the almost total absence of that enterprize and energy in speculation, which forms so distinguishing a feature in the mercantile

mercantile pursuits of England. While the spirit of adventure animates the natives of the latter, and sends them to the remotest corners of the earth, the only foreign traffic pursued by Frenchmen with any thing like eagerness and activity, is the detestable traffic in slaves, to which they are allured by the prospect of enormous profits—a trade which, though avowedly illegal and declared to be so by the proper authorities, subjects those who carry it on to little or no risk, being protected by their flag against any interference on the part of other governments, and winked at by their own. It was this general want of enterprize which, in earlier periods of foreign navigation, left the French far behind all the other nations of Europe in maritime discovery. While Portugal, Holland, Denmark and England were sending out expeditions to explore the unknown regions of the globe, France lay quietly upon her oars, and took no part; nor has she, at any subsequent period, contributed in such a way to the extension and improvement of geographical knowledge, as to give her any title to a place in the gratitude of mankind.

There is a still further obstacle to general improvement in France, at which M. Dupin occasionally glances—the fear on the part of government of entrusting too much power to individuals, or combinations of individuals. The executive is yet too jealous to allow to associations of its subjects any share of influence, which might attach to them were they permitted to take the lead in matters of high concern and importance. It is still more jealous of admitting foreigners to join in speculations of enterprize or improvement, however obviously they might appear calculated to promote the public utility. An instance of this kind occurred a few years ago. It was suggested, as an easy and most important improvement, to water Paris by means of pipes, in the same way as London is watered; and the ingenious Brunel went over to concert measures, and lay down a plan for the undertaking, carrying with him authority, on the part of the English projectors, to say that any amount of capital which might be required, was ready to be advanced; but when it was further stated that the iron pipes could only be supplied from the same country as the capital, the idea was so revolting, and at the same time so alarming to the Duc de Richelieu, that he at once put a stop to the proceeding; observing that Paris must continue to be supplied by water-carts and fountains, as heretofore, rather than run the risk of overturning the government, by receiving funds and iron-pipes from England.

These and various other impediments which we could name, and of many of which M. Dupin is fully aware, oppose so effectual a barrier to the progress of improvement in France, as to leave, in

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our opinion, very little hope that the picture which he has drawn of future prosperity can, in the present state of things, be realized. He has, however, sketched for his countrymen no unfaithful copy of the great features of the original which he viewed in Great Britain; he has traced the outlines with a bold and skilful pencil, and filled in the several parts with a masterly hand, and coloured the whole in deep and vivid tints. He has in fact performed his task ably and manfully; but as it is a work exclusively written for France; and as a detailed account of engineer reports, parliamentary papers, turnpike road bills, piers, jetties, cranes, and iron rail-ways, would not much benefit our readers, we shall content ourselves by noticing a few comparisons and contrasts between the natural and artificial features of the two countries, chiefly taken from the author's own picture.

The first sentence of M. Dupin's *Exant-propos* contains rather a whimsical truism; it is, that those nations who are removed to a distance (meaning, from the sea) have nothing to fear from the fleets of England; and that a still greater number of people have nothing to fear from her armies; but *all*, he goes on to say, feel momentarily the action and influence of her commerce. He then launches into a brilliant display of her foreign possessions, and of the active intercourse which she maintains with every nation and people on the globe: the result of all which is, that 'an island which, in the Oceanic archipelago, would hardly be reckoned of the third order, causes the effect of its industry and the weight of its power to be felt at every extremity of the four parts of the world, at the same time that she is peopling and civilizing a fifth part, which will follow her laws, speak her language, and receive her customs and her commerce, together with her arts and her intelligence.' And yet M. Dupin contents himself with repeating (what might be said with some propriety, perhaps, ages ago) that this 'third-rate island' is separated from the rest of the world by the opposing sea; whereas he ought rather to say, that it makes use of the sea as its great turnpike-road to connect it with every shore of the known world, and over which its natives are enabled to travel with greater ease and celerity than even over the best roads that Mr. M'Adam ever made. 'We ought never to forget,' as Mr. Canning said, 'that at all periods the field of our native glory is that sea which disjoins other countries from each other, but which unites them all to England.'

M. Dupin refers the source and origin of our greatness and commercial prosperity to the administration of Lord Chatham, who, in his estimation, would have been a minister without an equal, in the age in which he lived, 'if he had been as honest towards the foreigner, as he was towards his fellow-citizens;' in
other

other words, if he would have suffered himself to be the dupe of a foreign policy. His views in war are stated to have been purely 'industriel.' 'With him,' M. Dupin says, 'war had victory for its means, conquest as a circumstance, calculation as an auxiliary, and commerce for its principal object.' It certainly was in the midst of the seven years war that those immense improvements in land and water-carriage, which are at the present day the pride of this country and the admiration of every other, were set on foot. In 1756, England had not a single line of artificial inland navigation, and her few roads were ill laid out, and kept in little order. The internal navigations now exceed a *thousand leagues* in length, on a portion of territory which is not equal to a fourth part of France. The roads which formerly existed have been reconstructed with more art, and kept in order with more care; new ones have been opened for the benefit of commerce, which, together, are stated by M. Dupin to form a system of roads, whose total length exceeds, at the present time, *forty-six thousand leagues* in the southern part of this island (England) alone.

If we look to the capital, M. Dupin says, we shall there find, that, in order to distribute water necessary for the subsistence and comfort of its inhabitants, and for the conveyance of gas, which produces a light so brilliant and so pure, 'as if in anticipation of the Aurora,' the system of pipes in their various ramifications stretches out into a line exceeding *four hundred leagues* in extent beneath the pavement of London.

'While these prodigies are carrying on,' continues M. Dupin, 'harbours and basins are excavated to hold their shipping; piers, jetties, light-houses, newly established, increase the security of the coasts, and afford shelter to all the anchorages, over more than *six hundred leagues* of coast; and, in consequence of these works, at this moment, twenty-two thousand three hundred merchant-ships, manned by one hundred and sixty thousand men, and capable of carrying two million of tons of merchandize, are barely sufficient for the transport from coast to coast, for the maritime exportation of the surplus internal circulation, and for the importation of foreign products necessary for the maintenance of this immense circulation.'

'It is thus,' he adds, 'that England was flourishing within, while her sacrifices without appeared to us to be accelerating her ruin, and preparing her fall; but such is her vital force, and such her commercial industry with which she wars against all nations, that she has overturned all her rivals, from the extremity of the new world, to the very centre of the old!'

Having bestowed a much larger share of admiration and praise on the Commissioners of Paving, Commissioners of Sewers, and other municipal authorities in the capital of England, than they

they are likely to receive, meritorious as they are, from their fellow-citizens, M. Dupin proceeds to contrast the state of the streets in a British city, with those in one of France. In England, he observes, 'as much care is bestowed in rendering the public streets free, commodious and safe, before the dwellings of simple individuals, as before the public monuments. No cumbrous wares are suffered to be displayed on the outside of the shops; no permanent erection is allowed to obstruct the streets or the squares; every inhabitant has the power of seizing such objects, of informing against the owner of them, and he receives, for his trouble, half of a penalty amounting from fifty to 120 francs.' 'But,' he continues, 'if we take a view, in the very capital of France, of the greatest commercial streets,—those of Saint Denis, of Saint Martin, and of the Lombards,—all of them far too narrow to admit of an active circulation, it will be observed, that a third part, at least, of their width is occupied by projecting stalls, by chests and casks placed on the outside of the shops; and by carts which discharge their loads in the street, instead of depositing them at once in the warehouses; which would be at the same time both convenient and economical. These details, so much neglected in France, can only be attended to with effect by a municipal administration; well organized, like that of England.'

The side pavements of flag-stones which the French call 'trottoirs,' and which are so carefully attended to in almost all the cities and towns of England, and almost unknown in France, even in the capital, are strongly and deservedly commended. 'How admirable,' says our author, 'is it, that in a country where the rich are charged with making the laws, they never, when so making them, forget the well-being of the poor!'

M. Dupin next adverts to the numerous common sewers which traverse the principal streets of an English city, and receive, by means of those ramifying drains, executed at the expense of the proprietor of each house, every thing that the waters can carry off by that conveyance, and thus promote and preserve that perfect cleanliness on which the general health so much depends. In France, on the contrary, even in Paris, there is a lamentable deficiency in this respect; as little regard being had to cleanliness and convenience, either within doors or without, as was the case, and still partly is, in the 'gaid auld town of Edinbro.' In England, M. Dupin observes, it is not permitted to throw any filth into the street; 'thus its cities never present the hideous aspect of those of the south of Europe, where impurities of every kind are heaped upon the public ways, and left to putrefaction, which is hastened by a burning climate; and which causes endemic and mortal

mortal diseases.' There can be no doubt that this, together with the dryness of the atmosphere, materially assisted by the coal-smoke, mainly contributes to make London, what M. Dupin says it is, of all the capitals in Europe, that in which the average duration of life is by far the longest.

Another great convenience enjoyed by the inhabitants of an English city, but unknown elsewhere, arises, the author observes, from the fronts of their houses being separated from the street by trottoirs, or broad pavements, and by the sunken areas, guarded by iron railings, which not only prevent the walls of the buildings from being daubed with dirt, and covered with the splashing of mud, but also protect the foot-passengers from the rush of carriages; to which may be added the absence of those frequent and dangerous interruptions in the foot-way leading to the numerous *portes cochères* before the great houses in Paris. He admits, however, that there are but few streets in Paris wide enough for those conveniences which are so general in London.

The parliamentary and the public turnpike-roads of Great Britain occupy a considerable portion of these volumes. M. Dupin here again contrasts the conduct of the British government with that of France: the former, not only granting the inhabitants a credit and funds, but leaving them to carry on themselves those works in which they are so materially interested; whilst in the latter the government obliges the inhabitants to pour their funds into its own treasury, to enable it to execute, after its own manner, and when it shall seem good in its own eyes, that which concerns only the governed.

'How very far are we from participating in the spirit of the administration and the parliament of Great Britain! We, who scarcely confide to the zeal of the inhabitants, the repair of a village foot-path!—We, who, before a basket of pebbles can be thrown upon the smallest departmental road, require imperatively that the future expense of this basketful shall be carried to the budget of the "*Arrondissement*," then to that of the "*Département*," then submitted to the Grand Council of Bridges and Highways, sitting in a bureau at Paris, at the distance of two hundred leagues from the situation of the work!'

Our author justly ridicules these '*lenteurs savantes d'une comptabilité profonde*,' these '*formalités bureaucratiques*,' which must be encountered before a public work of any description can be undertaken in France; the consequences of which are, that, with a strong corps of engineers *des ponts et chaussées* scattered over every part of the country, the few new works which are commenced proceed with all imaginable leisure, and the old ones are suffered gradually to decay. Matters of this kind, he says, are very differently managed in England. There houses, ships,

carriages, and machines are kept constantly in the best condition, and have an appearance of freshness, neatness, nay, of brilliancy, which is only adopted partially, and that even by a small number of people, on the continent. It is remarkable, he adds, that the most economical nations, and those the most enlightened as to their pecuniary interests, such as the Dutch, the Swedes, and the English, adopt, with common consent, the system of constant repair; while the Italians, the Portuguese, the Spaniards, &c., the worst calculators, and the most improvident, wait generally till an edifice falls into ruin before they think of beginning to repair it.

It is the same in England, he observes, with regard to the roads; they are habitually kept solid, smooth, and easy, equally economical for the transport of commerce, and the convenience and expedition of travelling.—That this is not the case in France is not, however, to be charged altogether to those ‘*lenteurs officielles*,’ but, in some measure, to the want of money. ‘Even in the midst of profound peace,’ says M. Dupin, ‘scarcely can the government be prevailed upon to assign, for the maintenance of our roads, the *third part* of the sums which are furnished by the inhabitants of England alone—a country that does not equal in surface a *third part* of France!’

M. Dupin observes, that the English dislike level or horizontal roads; and that roads perfectly straight displease them still more. Undoubtedly, it is with us a prevailing opinion, that a dead flat road tires a horse much more than occasional inequalities: the change in the speed, and also in the position of the muscles, is supposed to be advantageous to the animal; and no one, we think, will contend that a winding road is not far more agreeable to the traveller, than those long-drawn, fatiguing avenues so common in France, the extremity of which appears always to recede as he advances. ‘Why do we,’ says our author, ‘neglect those innocent pleasures in the midst of our plains?’—He is equally out of humour with the unnecessary width of their roads, so disproportioned to the wants of circulation.

In speaking of country-seats, in which ‘the luxury of our architecture and sculpture seems to rival the luxury of nature herself,’ he remarks, that ‘the English, instead of studying to make a show and parade, at the greatest possible distance, of the beauties of art, study to conceal them.’

‘The Englishman looks with an eye of pity on those long and mournful alleys which shew to us, for a fourth part of a league, the façade of a building, before which is displayed an ostentatious arrangement of plantations laid out with the compasses; whilst to the right and to the left of these rows of huge uniform trees, the mournful eye perceives only fields stripped of their shade, and the desolating spectacle of the most

hideous

hideous nakedness. On the contrary, one of those roads which the English call *promenades*, conducts one, in the midst of shrubbery and a carpet of green turf, towards a British habitation. As you approach, you discover at intervals the different parts of the rural edifice; but you do not see the whole building till you arrive at the point of sight from which the eye is able to embrace the whole with sufficient detail, that no beauty should be weakened or lost by the effect of distance.—vol. i. p. 121.

M. Dupin is enchanted with these delightful *promenades*, which, he informs his countrymen, are called by us 'ride roads.'—But he shall speak for himself.

'Veut-on jouir délicieusement de ces promenades parfaites? Il faut visiter la campagne dans les beaux jours d'automne ou d'été, sous un ciel qui, même en la saison des fruits, conserve aux fleurs, comme à la verdure, la fraîcheur de leur printemps et la suavité de leur premier parfum. Tantôt à l'abri d'un épais ombrage, tantôt sur le bord d'un coteau dont le penchant se marie avec la plaine, en déployant un magnifique amphithéâtre de guérets et de jardins, de prairies et de forêts, lorsqu'assis sur un char découvert et léger et mollement élastique, on se sent entraîné d'une extrême vitesse par des coursiers, qu'Olympie eût enviés pour l'arène de ses jeux, et lorsqu'on est transporté, dans la moindre secousse fatigante, sur une autre arène préparée encore avec plus de soins, polie encore avec plus d'art que le sol de l'hippodrome; alors, mille sensations diverses et pourtant harmonieuses, du repos dans le mouvement et de la sécurité dans une course où l'on semble ne plus toucher à la terre, font qu'un doux frémissement de volupté pure, pénètre à la fois toutes nos facultés; et c'est à l'instant même où la beauté de la nature sourit de toutes ses grâces à notre imagination qu'elle ravit d'enthousiasme. Ah! je conçois que les plus riches habitans des trois royaumes désertent avec empressement les capitales les plus éblouissantes et les plus fastueuses, pour venir goûter, dans le silence et la paix, des plaisirs si pleins de charme et d'innocence.

'En rappelant ces plaisirs à ma pensée, je sens qu'ils me séduisent encore d'un attrait irrésistible; et pourtant, lorsque je les goûtais, il leur manquait à mes yeux un enchantement qui manquait aux jardins mêmes d'Armide, pour Renaudé pris d'amour: c'est le bonheur qu'on éprouve à la vue des beautés de la terre natale, à cette vue qui rappelle aussitôt les nobles souvenirs de la patrie, et les doux souvenirs de nos jeunes années. Aspects sublimes de l'Angleterre et de la Calédonie, je n'éprouvais donc pas à vous contempler, ce qui doit donner sur vos patriotiques habitans, le plus de puissance à votre charme!—vol. i. p. 119.

On the profile of our roads, their curvature, and their construction on the principles of M'Adam and Telford, it is not necessary for us to dilate. The information collected by our author on the subject, however, may be turned to good account in France; but that 'fine verdant turf' which he, and indeed all foreigners, so much admire in England, is a luxury which can never be had in that country.

The same system, our author observes, prevails in England, with regard to the making and management of canals, as of roads; that is to say, it is left in the hands of private associations; the British government not only permits individuals to execute these great works by such companies; it eagerly goes before the zeal and the means of the national industry, and affords it the aid of public credit. 'In France, a totally different course is pursued—there the government undertakes every thing and finishes nothing. What is begun under one reign is abandoned in the next; that which one minister attempts to execute, his successor leaves to moulder into ruins.' M. Dupin thinks, however, that they are about to commence a new system, and to break those thousand chains of the Consulate and the Empire, which, far more than under any other government, before or since the revolution, fettered the people of France.

'Depuis 1800, époque à laquelle tous les pouvoirs ont été concentrés dans Paris, les administrations départementales et municipales, n'ont pas conservé le droit de prendre la moindre décision essentielle. Non-seulement pour des ouvrages neufs, d'une médiocre valeur et d'une importance toute locale, mais pour les plus légères réparations, il faut rédiger des projets, calculer des devis, les adresser au ministère, attendre une approbation tardive, chercher un entrepreneur; traiter; et faire ensuite approuver l'adjudication ou la soumission. Que résulte-t-il de ces délais nombreux et prolongés? Les dégradations augmentent, les frais indispensables croissent de plus en plus, jusqu'à dépasser les moyens de subvenir aux dépenses. Alors arrivent, la chute des ponts et des écluses, l'interruption totale de la navigation et du commerce, la diminution du revenu des canaux; alors, enfin, ce peu de revenu qu'on touche encore ne sert plus qu'à couvrir incomplètement des frais qu'il eût été facile d'éviter. On obvierrait à ces inconvénients, en concédant à des associations particulières, la construction, l'entretien et la propriété des canaux: ce qu'on commence à faire.'—vol. i. p. 81.

M. Dupin takes a comparative view of what he calls the *canalized* portions of the two countries, and arrives at this conclusion—that, in England, the portion canalized exceeds one half of the whole territory; whilst in France it does not equal one-fifth. That in the part 'canalized' over the same extent of country, the opening of canals is four times less in France than in England; 'so that,' he observes, 'in comparing the whole of France with the whole of England, we have not even, in proportion to the extent of the two countries, the twentieth part of the canals possessed by our rival.' And he adds, what is still more humiliating for *la grande nation*, 'in England, with a sky less serene, a climate less warm, a soil less fertile, the earth nourishes, at a mean rate, 8,107 inhabitants on a square *myriamètre*; whilst, on an equal extent of surface, France only supports 5,680.'

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A considerable portion of M. Dupin's work is occupied by detailed accounts of the canals which communicate with the four great basins of the Thames, the Humber, the Mersey, and the Severn, and with each other, and the different manufacturing districts of England; all of which we must pass over, and take a cursory glance at his description of our bridges, which is particularly defective. Those of Westminster and Blackfriars are dispatched in half a page; and half of this is taken up with an idle story which he tells us has been seriously stated by *travellers*, namely, that the balustrade of the former was made nearly inaccessible, with a view of preventing the English (who are liable to a malady which drives them to suicide) from throwing themselves into the River. M. Dupin should have said—'stated by *one traveller*,' and he a Frenchman, who, in addition to what our author has taken from him, assures his countrymen, that 'the people of London are so addicted to self-murder, that all the avenues leading to the Thames are blocked up, to prevent as much as possible this fatal result of the national malady'—nay, that 'he was told by a friend, that the banks of the river, and particularly near the bridges, were lined with skulls,' (skulls.) That a sensible man, like M. Dupin, should condescend to repeat so idle a story, which is even beneath the dignity of Joe Miller, we confess, surprises us. He is too industrious in collecting information, and too observant of what passes in the world, not to know that the number of suicides in Paris, with half the population, exceeds that of London, as five to three; and that five times as many unfortunate wretches, at the very lowest calculation, throw themselves into the Seine, the popular mode of self-destruction, as into the Thames.

The bridge of Waterloo, for the tenth time, is stated to have been stolen from the bridge of Neuilly, though the curves of the arches are wholly different; but the balustrades and the roadways are both horizontal, and all the arches are of the same size: and these are points of resemblance quite sufficient to constitute a similarity amounting to a plagiarism in the eyes of a Frenchman. But then Mr. Rennie has made a grievous mistake in placing a bridge of this kind where it never ought to have been; that is to say, where the continuation of the road on each side is not perfectly level with the road over the bridge: another fault (not indeed of the bridge) is, that its height overpowers the beautiful facade of Somerset House. Full credit, however, is given by M. Dupin to the manner in which the bridge is constructed, who always speaks of Mr. Rennie with respect and admiration.

To the solidity and probable permanency of Waterloo bridge, M. Dupin bears strong testimony in observing that 'in the revolutions which empires experience, men will one day inquire, where

once stood the New Phenicia, the Western Tyre, which covered the sea with its ships?'—'The Strand bridge,' says he, 'will remain to reply to generations the most remote—'

'Here stood a wealthy, industrious, and powerful city. The traveller, at sight of it, will suppose that a great prince had been desirous, by many years of labour, to shed a lustre on the end of his reign, and to consecrate the glory of his actions by this imposing structure. But if tradition should inform him, that six years were sufficient for the commencement and termination of this work; if he should learn, that a simple company of merchants built this mass, worthy of the Sesostrides and the Cæsars, he will admire still more that nation where undertakings of this nature can be the fruit of the efforts of a few tradesmen and capitalists. Then, if lastly he shall have reflected on the causes of the prosperity of empires, he will acknowledge that such a people must have possessed wise laws, powerful institutions, and liberty prudently secured to them: they are imprinted in the grandeur and utility of the monuments erected by simple citizens.'—vol. i. p. 259.*

ART. V.—*Memoir descriptive of the Resources, Inhabitants, and Hydrography of Sicily and its Islands, interspersed with Antiquarian and other Notices.* By Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N. London. 1824. 4to. pp. 370.

CAPTAIN Smyth is an experienced navy-officer who has for many years, we believe, been employed by the Admiralty to survey various parts of the Mediterranean coasts, of which the charts were hitherto defective. The circumstances, however, under which his book is brought out will be best told in his own words:—

'The lords commissioners of the Admiralty having determined in their laudable zeal for promoting nautical science, to present to the public an atlas containing my survey of Sicily and the adjacent islands, I obtained permission from their lordships to publish the following memoir containing the substance of those remarks which my long residence in those parts, and the station I filled, enabled me to make; and, as an encouragement, their lordships, with a marked liberality and condescen-

* We copy this with peculiar pleasure, on account of the consolation which, we trust, it will afford to Mrs. Barbauld. That venerable Sybil (see No. XIV. of this Journal) took up her parable against England in 1811, and prophesied that her last hour was come; that 'her baseless wealth was dissolved in air;' that 'the golden tide of commerce had deserted her shore,' and that she would soon
'be only known
By the gray ruin, and the mouldering stone.'

'Some ingenious American, fired by fancy, will then,' she vaticinates, 'make a pilgrimage from the Blue Mountains to this country,' (provided he can find it,) 'in the hope of tracing out the ancient bounds of its capital, by the assistance of a few scattered hamlets.' Mrs. Barbauld will now discover that 'this high-souled youth from the Ontario' will not need, as she tremblingly anticipates, to hazard his neck, 'in climbing some broken stair to ascertain the spot on which London once stood,' since the Strand Bridge will favour his guesses, and abridge his archeological labours in a surprising manner.

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sion, have been pleased to subscribe for 100 copies. In executing this task I have rather aimed at giving general information, than a mere set of sailing directions, because the charts being constructed trigonometrically and the various dangers distinctly pointed out, an inspection of them will be less liable to misconception than verbose instructions.—*Introduction.*

Leaving, therefore, the nautical observations to the attention of those whose business it will be to ascertain experimentally their truth and accuracy, we shall consider the 'Memoir' as an essay on Sicily addressed principally to the general reader, and embracing the usual topics of a volume of Sicilian travels. It does not, indeed, provide us with so many credible stories of children wearing three heads, or of women littering thirty babies at a birth as the learned Fazzello—nor is it interlarded with critical emendations of Greek texts, and operose corrections of Cluverius, like D'Orville—nor is it so sprightly and picturesque as Brydone—though not so dull as Swinburne—neither does it display the mature scholarship, nor impart to the reader the classical ardour of Hughes; yet as a *practically useful work*, it may take precedence of them all, on the principle, that he who wore a civic crown ranked above those who were otherwise his betters—and even as a *literary work* it has a certain value of its own, arising from the scientific observations it contains, calculated to correct the exaggerations of poets and poetical travellers, whose assertions will often find much difficulty in maintaining their ground against this modern Archytas, this—

Maris et terræ numeroque carentis arenæ
Mensorem.

And though Captain Smyth may think this very limited commendation of a book which evidently aspires to a character for scholarship, yet we cannot help considering that those parts of it which are most learned are least praiseworthy. We care little about Archias and Ducetius—or whether Deucalion and Pyrrha did or did not found Catania:—all such matters, together with anecdotes about Typhæus or his Cyclops, we are content to leave to Lempriere and the minute mythologists of our grammar-schools.

Still, however, if Captain Smyth enters upon these topics more frequently and with an air of more authority than necessary, he errs with great names: 'If we consider Jupiter's politics,' says Shuckford with the utmost gravity, 'we must allow him to have been a man of as great natural wisdom and sagacity as perhaps any age ever produced.*' And afraid (as well he might be) that this is not sufficiently specific, he next tells us, 'that Jupiter had a genius for business as well as for speculation, and knew how both to project what was proper to be agreed upon and to give

* Connection of Sacred and Profane History, v. ii. p. 86.

his schemes a full effect among the people; and in order hereto he married the lady who had the province of forming the reasonings of the Cretans, and this was undoubtedly a wise step; &c. We could have dispensed with sundry passages in the 'Memoir of Sicily' a little too much after this fashion, and would willingly have received in exchange for such solemn trifling, those coincidences between the manners and customs of ancient and modern times which our author's long connection with Sicily might have enabled him to remark, a country wearing throughout a singular air of antiquity, whilst the treatment of such a subject would have called forth classical learning of a far more attractive kind than that which relates to half-fabulous heroes, or wholly fabulous demi-gods.

It is true, that Captain Smyth has touched upon this topic; but in most of his remarks he has already been anticipated;—and in those which are new we have generally to regret a want of distinctness and detail. 'The Rogation ceremony corresponds in many respects with the rites of Terminus; for while the former consisted of prayers for a blessing on the fruits of the earth, the purpose of the latter was to fix beyond dispute the boundaries of their land that so they might enjoy without contention, in the fruits of the opening spring, the reward of the labour they had bestowed on the earth.' Yet we are not furnished with a single fact that enables us to trace the resemblance for ourselves. So again, 'The grand jubilee is but another name for the Secular Games, while the Martinalia is a palpable substitute for the Lesser Dionysia, by which St. Martin has succeeded to the devotion heretofore lavished on the jolly Bacchus.' It may be so; but we naturally ask,

Quibus indiciis, quo teste, probavit?—

We should have been glad to hear more particulars of the following curious fact, 'that the festival instituted on occasion of the surrender of Nicias to Gylippus has been preserved through all changes of fortune, government, and religion, and is still celebrated (though now in honour of a saint) at Syracuse, in May, when two olive trees are borne in triumph into the city, and during the fortnight they are allowed to remain there, debtors can roam about, free from molestation.'—p. 179.

The Sicilians still, it seems, by amulets, carefully protect themselves and their herds from persons possessing the evil eye—never marry in the ill-omened month of May—cast nuts and almonds on the happy pair at the bridal feast—strew flour or ashes at the threshold of their friend or foe, on New Year's eve—think it lucky to have a palpitation in the right eye—are fearful of spilling salt—and, like the Romans, do not respect the profession

session of a 'carnifex,' or executioner—(p. 65.)—this last circumstance might have been safely omitted. We are not Romans; but in England, and we suppose elsewhere, Jack Ketch is not popular. In the useful arts, as in fishing, traces of the olden time are detected, both by Captain Smyth and Mr. Hughes. The thunny is driven successively through four chambers of 'a net in the shape of a parallelogram 1500 feet long, by 300 feet wide, and from 40 to 100 deep;' in the last chamber or 'corpo,' he is transfixed by suitable instruments; the whole agreeably to the account of Oppian, (lib. iii. 640.) The sword-fish is harpooned, his approach, like that of the thunny-shoals, being indicated by a man on the look out at the mast-head, the *Olpis* of Theocritus.* That practice too, (also described in the *Halieutica*, lib. iv. 641.) of attracting the fish to the boats at night, by means of a perpetual blaze kept up in an iron crate fixed at the prow, is still followed with success.

There may be persons who look upon such investigations as puerile and beneath the notice of a man of letters. We do not, however, profess to be of that number; on the contrary, we hold, that one point of resemblance between the living and the dead (trifling though it be in itself) properly established, derives a value from affording us some grounds for believing that the like resemblance exists in many other more important points which we cannot determine for want of evidence; and that thus we are enabled to collect the face and expression of the father of glorious memory, in the features of his surviving descendants. For this reason we read with more delight that simple fact in the *Travels* of Mr. Hughes, that whilst his party were regaling themselves in the *Ear* of Dionysius, the peasants brought them *beans* which they had *rousted* over a fire kindled for the purpose, to eat with their wine, after the manner of the times of Theocritus;† than we should have felt by the perusal of pages of fabulous, or even authentic, history.

But we must proceed to graver matters. Our countrymen, especially such as are imbued with Grecian literature, giving way to the natural feelings of freemen, are apt to mourn over the fortunes of Sicily which subjected her to the dominion of Rome. (See Hughes's *Travels*, i. 65. Smyth, p. 118.) We doubt, however, whether this pity is not misplaced, or at least extravagant. The truth is, that the provincial policy of the Romans has been much misrepresented; and as this is a subject closely connected with the right understanding of many ancient authors, both sacred

* *Idyll.* iii. 25.

† τὸν ἡγελατικὸν οὖτον ἀπὸ ἀντὶθετοῦ ἀφροῦ,
πᾶρ πυρὶ κεκλιμένῳ, κινῶμεν δὲ σὺς ἐν πυρὶ φροῖτι.

and profane, we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity which a review of a work on Sicily affords for saying a few words upon it.

Sicily was the first in point of time, as well as the most important in point of value, of all the Roman provinces; it was the granary of the republic; and by its geographical position, its commodious harbours, and abundant supplies, was of infinite assistance to Italy in bringing to a successful issue its Carthaginian wars.* For these reasons it was manifestly the interest of Rome to attach that province as closely as possible by every means of kindness and conciliation, and she succeeded in so doing; hence whatever resources she had in Sicily, Cicero tells us, were counted on with certainty. Corn was always paid to the day—her wants were even anticipated—her laws implicitly obeyed—her tax-gatherers almost welcomed. Nor is it improbable, that the treatment of Sicily regulated in some measure the system subsequently pursued in the management of the provinces in general.

The religion, the laws, and the property of the country were *de jure* inviolate; the municipal magistrates were not changed;† private litigations between man and man were settled before native judges, unless the parties chose to appeal. In an affair between two Sicilians of different cities, judges were appointed by the prætor, or Roman governor, not through favour but by lot. All contentions between an individual and the people were submitted to the senate of some one town agreed upon by the parties after mutual challenge. In disputes between a Roman and Sicilian, where the Roman was plaintiff, a Sicilian judge was appointed; where the Sicilian was plaintiff, a Roman. For weightier matters, especially for all state-offences, assizes were annually held at particular towns convenient for the purpose—(at Lilybæum, Palermo, Messina, and Syracuse). At these assizes the prætor presided, assisted by certain officers who accompanied him from Rome, and subject to the check of a council composed of twenty persons chosen by ballot from the most respectable of the inhabitants of the district.‡ To this court, and to this only (except in the case of free cities, which had special privileges) was committed the power of life and death. In order to expedite business in these judicial circuits of the prætor, as well as for the more easy conveyance of troops and merchandise, roads were established—the Via Valeria extending from Messina to Lilybæum, whilst mention is made in the Itinerary of

* Cic. in Verr. 2.

† In medals and inscriptions, both Greek and Latin, mention is constantly made of the posts and offices, the senate, people, and decrees, of provincial towns.

‡ In Verr. 2. § 13, 15, 17. See Middleton on the Roman Senate, v. iii. p. 415.

Antonine, of *mansiones*, or posts, between Catania and Agrigentum. Of taxes, the heaviest levied upon this island was that upon corn, which, however, continued under the Romans precisely the same as it had been under Hiero, the most popular of the tyrants, and was regulated by the laws which he had enacted, (not without the willing acquiescence of the people,) to the minutest circumstance of valuation, time, and place of payment. The censors or tithe valuers were Sicilians, and their qualifications for the office were scrutinized with great jealousy by their countrymen who elected them. A new rate was made every fifth year, and a legal remedy applied if it was made unfairly.* So careful were the Romans to guard against the corruption of the officers in the provinces, that they were forbidden to make in them any purchase whatever; even a slave was not permitted to be bought except to fill up the place of one that was dead.† In case of abuses, from which it might be expected that delegated authority would not be always exempt, an appeal was open to a tribunal at Rome, in which the assessors of the prætor were at first of the equestrian but afterwards unfortunately of the senatorian class; where the guilty governor might be sentenced (as he often was) to exile, and a fine equalling the double of his plunder, levied upon his estate.

Nor is this all; the spirit of the Roman government was so far from aiming at the oppression of the provinces, that a remarkable delicacy is observable even in its language when applied to them: far from showing a disposition to remind the inhabitants of their subjection, it constantly addressed them under titles of confidence and friendship—from enemies they were become ‘*Socii*’—they were become ‘*Romani*’—they were placed under the guardianship, the ‘*tutela*,’ of the Roman people.‡

Of course, in all we have said, we have confined ourselves to the *policy* of Rome: that extreme violations of that policy were perpetually occurring in *fact*, we cannot for a moment deny; indeed, the very speeches which have furnished us with many of the above particulars, give but a melancholy proof of this truth. Still, however, those abuses were neither so aggravated as not to bear a favourable comparison with such as the provinces had been accustomed to experience from their own governments; nor so frequent, as, upon the whole, to render the nations averse from submitting to Rome. The republics of Sicily were incapable of preserving their own liberties, and speedily fell into the

* For these particulars see the speeches against Verres, *passim*, especially in Verr. 2.

† Cic. in Verr. Orat. de Signis, 6.

‡ See Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, v. i. p. 65, a work containing a most masterly account of the government of the Romans, both foreign and domestic.

hands of tyrants, from whom they were no sooner rescued; than by others they were again enslaved. By Aristotle* we are told, that Dionysius the First contrived to possess himself of all the property of Syracuse in five years, and that having borrowed of the citizens, he gave orders that they should bring into his treasury all the money they were worth, and then discharged his debt by issuing a new coinage which passed for double its former price. So again, from an incidental remark of Cicero, (*Brut.* 75.) it appears, that the re-establishment of private property after the expulsion of the tyrants (to such spoliation had it been subject) gave rise to legal oratory in Sicily. The case was the same with Judea. After the death of Herod and the accession of Archelaus, the Jews sent an embassy to Augustus to lay before him the evils they had suffered under a king of their own. And what were those evils? precisely such as were suffered by Sicily under Verres; they had been spoiled of their property—heavy taxes had been levied, and perquisites were expected by the officers who levied them—the administration of justice was corrupt and venal—the chastity of their women was assailed—so that, to sum up all, they entreated ‘to be delivered from such a government, and be ruled by officers deputed from Syria.’† And accordingly, when this prayer had been granted, we find them still boasting (so leniently had the authority of Rome been hitherto exercised) that they ‘had never been in bondage to any man.’

In Asia Minor the same feelings subsisted. When Agrippa visited that province, the Jews of Ionia made heavy complaints before him of the oppression which they sustained from the Greeks. Their cause is pleaded by one Nicolaus, who contents himself with claiming for his clients that protection which the Roman provincial laws, if well administered, amply afforded. ‘The happiness,’ says he, ‘which the whole human race is now enjoying through you, we measure by this circumstance, that each nation is permitted to exercise its own rights’ (*οικουμένη*); and he concludes, ‘we ask for nothing more than that you would see we be not deprived of those privileges which yourselves have conceded to us.’—*Antiq.* lib. xvi. c. 2.

Rhodes furnishes another example of the popularity of the Roman government. In a very spirited speech addressed by the deputies of that island to the senate of Rome, given in the 37th book of Livy, we hear them praying that they may not be annexed to the kingdom of Eumenes but to Rome; ‘that so they might protect their liberties by the arms of the republic since they could not by their own.’ Gibbon, who had a correct view

* Polit. 5. 11.

† Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. xvii. c. 13. § 2.

of the generous relationship which subsisted between Rome and the provinces, is not so full upon this subject as its importance and interest might seem to demand. He justly observes, however, that the number of voluntary monuments erected in the latter, argued a disposition on the part of the provincials very friendly to the sovereign state. 'When Pliny was entrusted with Bithynia and Pontus, he found the cities within his jurisdiction striving with each other in every useful and ornamental work.' At Nicodemia the inhabitants were building a new forum and an aquæduct—at Nice, a gymnasium and costly theatre. These are not symptoms of an oppressed country. True it is, that Strabo (lib. vi.) speaks of the coast of Sicily from Pachynum to Lilybæum as in his time entirely deserted; and as exhibiting, with the exception of Camarina, Agrigentum, and Lilybæum, vestiges only of its once flourishing towns; but it is manifest, that he refers the causes and indeed the first epoch of this depopulation, to a period previous to the establishment of Roman power in that province; and that Winkleman is, therefore, not justified in adducing that fact in proof of the barbarising effects of Roman misrule. Indeed, allowing the constitutions of the Sicilian cities to have been so balanced as to present insurmountable obstacles to the ambition of any individual who might have aimed at subverting them, still those cities would have been (as they ever were) divided against themselves; and the country at large would have consequently suffered all the miseries of a civil war, and by its weakness have invited the aggression of every powerful neighbour. Rome, on the other hand, effectually silenced the bickerings of the rival cities, and threw around them all a protection which no enemy, however mighty, would dare to insult; and grievous indeed must the abuses of that government have been, which should more than counterbalance the blessings of a deliverance from intestine war and foreign invasion. We crave the further attention of our readers to this point, whilst we turn for a moment to that far-famed pacific speech which Agrippa delivered to the turbulent Jews, as we find it recorded in Josephus; it may serve to throw fresh light on the provincial government of the Romans. 'Admitting, says he, 'that the agents of Rome are insufferable, still the people have done you no wrong, nor yet Cæsar, and against those it is, that you are disposed to declare war, *for no officer is sent hither by them with orders to behave ill*, nor can they possibly watch all men in their employ from the east to the west; or even hear at such a distance every thing which happens amongst us. Surely it would be absurd to quarrel with many on account of a single individual, and for a trifling grievance to oppose a people of such power, ignorant as they are of the grounds of

our

our complaints. Besides, it will not be long before our wrongs will be redressed, for the same procurator does not always remain amongst us; and it is reasonable to expect that those who shall succeed him will be men of greater moderation.*

Here, in truth, was the defective part of the Roman system; the general principle of the government was wise, simple, and beneficent; but, for reasons which we could easily assign, were there room for such a digression, there was wanted at home a vigilance of inquiry into the conduct of the servants of the state at a distance; of this defect and its consequences, a very amusing proof is afforded by Cicero in his oration for Plancius; which we have less scruple in producing, as it bears more immediately upon the subject of Sicily. That great orator, whose vanity 'was at least equal to his other powers,' had been sent out as quæstor of Lilybæum; at the expiration of his office, which he flattered himself he had discharged with extraordinary merit, he returns to Italy, and lands at Puteoli, imagining, as he honestly says, that all Rome had been doing nothing but talking of his quæstorship. He comes ashore: 'Ah!' cries a friend who meets him, 'when did you leave Rome? any news?' 'I come from the provinces,' was the answer. 'From Africa, as I take it,' returned the other. 'No,' it was pettishly replied, 'from Sicily.' 'How!' said a by-stander, who affected to be more knowing—'how! are you not aware that he is quæstor of Syracuse?' 'On this,' adds Cicero, 'I ceased to think about what might be heard of me, only determining to take measures to be seen; so that from that moment I resolved to keep close to the Forum, and to live perpetually under the eyes of the citizens of Rome.'

We would that these abuses, partly arising from despotic and partly from delegated authority, whatever they were, had expired with the Romans; but Sicilian history, whether Roman, Saracenic, or Norman, is but a history of suffering, and well may we address that beautiful island in the feeling language of the poet,

Oh tu! cui feo la sorte
Dono infelice di bellezza, ond' hai
Funesta dote d' infiniti guai,
Che in fronte scritti per gran doglia porte?

Captain Smyth enters but little upon the field of Sicilian grievances; and indeed, we think his book suffers in general considerably by a fear (laudable, perhaps, in itself) of speaking out, and giving offence to parties amongst whom he has lived. We, however, have no such reasons for concealment, and the temperate notice of evil practices sometimes leads to their correction;

* Bell. Jud. 2. c. 15. § 4.

more especially as we are unwilling to think that the government can countenance them, any farther than as it may neglect to correct them, calculated as they manifestly are to diminish its credit and impair its revenue. Besides, it is a subject upon which an Englishman may at any rate be considered to speak disinterestedly; since England, at a period when the seizure of Sicily would have been a popular act (however unwarrantable) both at home and in that island, contented herself with giving it a constitution, which, unlike those extravagant systems since promulgated, would have secured authority to the king and liberty to the people; which separated the legislative, executive, and judicial powers; vesting the first in a parliament composed of lords and commons; the second in the king and his ministers; the last in independent judges; which set due limits to the prerogative, by not permitting the sovereign to take cognizance of bills in progress, or to interfere in any way with the freedom of debate or the purity of election—which endeavoured to render the peerage respectable, by making titles unalienable and strictly hereditary; and by forbidding the elevation to the peerage of such as were not already in possession of a fief to which a title had belonged, and whose annual income was not 6,000 ounces* at least—which assigned a due weight to the commons, by fixing the qualifications of members for districts (into twenty-three of which Sicily was distributed) at 300 ounces per annum; and of members for towns at half that sum; an exception being made in favour of professors of universities, whose learning was accepted in lieu of house and land; which required that the electors† should be possessed of property to the annual amount of 18 ounces, and (what was most important of all) which reserved for the commons the right of originating every tax.

Such is the outline of the short-lived constitution given to Sicily by the British; and every lover of good order and rational liberty will regret, that by its abolition room has been made for the introduction of Jeremy Bentham's wild extravagancies into that island; whose writings, in spite of the opposition of the church, were, four years ago, secretly circulated. But so it is: The royal touch might at once cure the patient; and when that is withheld, in comes some miserable quack and kills him. True it is, that in the actual application of that constitution to the country, all the difficulties were experienced which usually attend the working of new machinery. A debate, according to Mr. Hughes's graphic ac-

* The Sicilian ounce is equal to about 12s. 6d. English.

† The privilege of voting was extended to those who were in life-possession of a public office worth 50 ounces per annum, as well as to a consul, or master of a corporation or trade with a revenue of 9 ounces.

count,

count, was apt to exhibit all the evolutions of an ancient pancratic contest; and when an honourable member was said to be *on the floor*, the expression was to be understood in a pugilistic rather than in a parliamentary sense. Doubtless, it would have been desirable, that for a few sessions a *powerful* speaker should be chosen to fill the chair; a descendant of Eryx, if such were to be found in the island. But these lively sallies of party-spirit would soon have subsided into the regular elements of political warfare; in process of time, *volventibus annis*, whig and tory leaders and followers would have sprung up, and it might not have been too much to expect, that under the fostering influence of its poetical climate and classical associations, Sicily might at length have listened to the Doric accents of a Hume himself, whilst he descanted on the church or the revenue in choice Sicilian. But we must turn from this splendid vision to the contemplation of dull realities. To the great mass of any people, the form of their government is a matter of little comparative consequence, provided justice be administered with an even hand. In Sicily, as indeed Captain Smyth allows, it is notoriously venal, the contending parties obtaining private access to the judges, and bidding as at an auction. We have been informed of 500 ounces having been thus spent to obtain 2000. It was some time ago understood to be in contemplation of the Neapolitan government to restrain this flagrant abuse in its legal officers, by compelling them to make returns in writing of the grounds of their decisions; but we know not whether this wholesome measure has been adopted. Of criminal law the miseries are yet more grievous; the witnesses having been examined by the judges and a case against the prisoner made out, it is drawn up in form and sent to his counsel; the counsel reads the charge to the accused, and having with his assistance taken such exceptions against it as may seem fit, he returns the instrument to the court; sentence is then passed, and thus the culprit may be convicted without having been confronted with one of the parties who accuse him. Still, however, life is very rarely forfeited; but personal liberty is wholly set at nought; years may roll away before the trial comes on, and years before the sentence is consummated. That grand principle of the English Magna Charta, '*nulli differemus justitiam*,' is wholly unknown. Mr. Hughes witnessed two executions at Palermo, in 1813, 'for crimes committed and condemned, the one eleven, the other fifteen years before.' The manner in which the guilty are dispatched is thus related by Captain Smyth.

'On the fatal day,' (it was in the year 1815 he witnessed this scene,) 'the prisoner, a youth who had poisoned his father, mother, and an orphan girl, was led forth by the gate of St. George, in a melancholy procession,

procession, headed by the two executioners distinguished by a party-coloured dress of red and yellow, intended to mark the degradation of the office; behind them marched the criminal in a black pitched vestment, and bareheaded, accompanied by the white brotherhood, the priests, and the officers of justice. On being assisted up the ladder, the scene was truly horrible, for one of the motley wretches sat upon the gallows, and when the assistant had leaped off with the victim, nimbly glided down the rope, and all three remained swinging together.—p. 80.

Nor is the system of combinations and monopolies against which trade has to struggle in Sicily, the least of its misfortunes; instead of leaving the various articles of produce to find their value by the relative proportion of supply and demand, the senates of the different districts assemble on a stated day, to fix a graduated scale of prices called the *meta*, for corn, wine, oil, &c. and to contract with the farmers for the supply of their towns. It is impossible to imagine a finer field for roguery than this; and much indeed is it to be wished, that the near relationship which heretofore subsisted between the *meta* and the *carcer* were again established. What more easy, and we fear we may add, more usual, than for the senates to close the ports, glut the markets, lower the price; and having struck the necessary bargains, again to permit exportation, and profit by the increased value of the article? Or, should the farmer happen to have on hand a stock of damaged wheat, what more natural than that he should be permitted to monopolise the supply of the town, in consideration of a bonus to the Senator? Or, supposing the existence of a private law, forbidding the juice of the grape to be transported into one district from another, (as was the case at Syracuse,) what more convenient, than for the senate of that place to raise the *meta* of juice to an extravagant height, and thus compel the wine-merchant to take it at such valuation, or pay a fine for permission to purchase it elsewhere? Fortunately, the rents for the most part consist of half the crop, and are paid in kind; a circumstance which, by identifying the interest (at least, in many instances) of the senate and farmer, may serve in some measure to mitigate the evils of the *meta*. This miserable process of combination and mutual impoverishment (for so it must turn out) operates through all classes. Thus, a foreigner may touch at Catania, and, going into a shop, inquire the price of almonds. The first object of the dealer will be to sift slyly into the quantity required; and if he finds it considerable, he communicates with all the almond-sellers in the town, and unites with them to extort from the unsuspecting stranger an exorbitant price.* So again, the fishmongers, taking the hint from the senate,

* Captain White (p. 365.) will see by this that the artifice which so annoyed him and his companions at Saigon, is not confined, as he innocently seems to imagine, to the natives of the eastern world.

league themselves against the wretched fishermen to deprive them of the hard-earned fruits of their toil; and the latter, being the poorer party of the two, have seldom any choice but submission. To talk of commercial confidence and good faith in such a state of things, would be an abuse of terms. It is sufficient to attend a Sicilian auction, to be convinced of the distrust which prevails between man and man. The auctioneer might be partial; the sale, therefore, is by candle; for the candle, say the Sicilians, can have no favourites. A purchaser might deny his own words, in case of a bad bargain; he is compelled, therefore, to make the bidding in writing, and sign it with his name, that there may be afterwards no room for equivocation; the banditore, meanwhile, having nothing to do but proclaim each advance in the bidding. A like want of confidence is exhibited in that silly law of the insurance offices, mentioned by Captain Smyth.

When small vessels are surprised on any part of the coast by fresh winds and are unable to haul up on the beach, they are anchored and abandoned; for, by an absurd regulation, Sicilian underwriters are not liable to pay any portion of the loss for a vessel stranded, if it appears a man was on board, as they assert that a person under the influence of terror might cut his cable; when, therefore, bad weather is approaching, they have only to moor with their best ground tackle and repair on shore, leaving the vessel to the mercy of the winds, waves, and saints. —p. 96.

The demand of the 'caparra,' or pledge, in every money engagement, however trifling, is only a badge of mutual distrust which Sicily wears in common with a great part of the continent. Neither does religion, as it is taught in Sicily, tend to 'make those crooked paths straight'; but a well endowed church, served, however, by a subaltern clergy of extreme poverty, promotes but too manifestly by its example, a system of concealment, imposture, and trick, labouring to attach the multitude to its interest by pagan mummeries, (we speak to the letter,) ready to catch at the plunder which even a conscience-struck thief may chance to elinquish,* and trafficking in the souls of dead men, without a blush at proclaiming the name of the individual released from pain, or the paltry sum for which it was effected.† Through abuses

* Ou' each side the door of the cathedral at Palermo is a stone box, inscribed 'per i mali ablati.'

† The following is a printed bull which was hanging in the church of the Madonna di Trapani, near that town, in the year 1819, and probably hangs there still.

PIUS VI.

Le pene che soffrono nel purgatorio le santo anime, per lo parere dei padri della santa chiesa, sono piu grave di quelle che han sofferto i santi martyri, e ancor maggior d'ogni humana immaginazione (così un di loro scrisse); Poena purgatorii gravior est quam quicquid unquam passi sunt sancti martyres, aut quicquid gravius homo pos-

abuses like these it is, that infidelity is so apt to seize upon all whom superstition spares. It was probably because Ricupero lived in a country where he was expected to believe in the Virgin Mary's civil letter to the citizens of Messina, that he was induced to raise his flimsy objections against the History of Moses.

In spite, however, of a system alike unfriendly to the morals and to the resources of Sicily, it exhibits less appearance of a misgoverned country in its surface, at least, and we will even add, in its people, than, under all the circumstances, might be expected. We are told, that of old, 'when a king of Naples inclosed the gardens of Onofria, where the best manna in Calabria descends, no man might gather it without paying tribute, the manna ceased till the tribute was taken off, and then came again;' and that 'in Epirus, when Lysimachus laid an impost upon Tragasæan salt, it vanished till he left it free.' Political economists would not think these events altogether miraculous. Still, however, the natural causes which might have brought them about, do not affect Sicily so deeply as might be imagined. 'Thy glory,' says Ulysses to Penelope, when he compliments her upon the wisdom of her government, 'thy glory is great as that of a king who rules a numerous and gallant race of men, with equity; whose territory produces wheat and barley; whose trees are laden with fruit; whose sheep bring forth thousands; and whose sea teems with fish.* With fish the Sicilian seas still teem: upwards of two hundred species are enumerated by Captain Smyth, of which the most remarkable are the scomber-thynnus, or thunny; the xiphias-gladus, or sword-fish; the mugil-cephalus, or mullet; and the anchovy. Nor are the fruits of the earth less abundant: the usual produce of wheat is from ten to sixteen fold, and in most favourable years twenty-eight;' and trains of mules are often met moving in picturesque cavalcade to the various caricatori on the coast, laden with the surplus grain for exportation.

'Of grapes there are nineteen different species, the most esteemed of which are the zibebbo, the carniola, the greek, the museatel, the canicula, the dry and the winter grape.' The wine trade, however, is chiefly in the hands of British merchants, whose capital enables them to traffic to great advantage with the needy

sit excoitare! Ecciti la vostra compassione questa verità, o Christiani, alleggerire i gravi tormenti di quelle anime penanti colle vostre buone opere; e giacchè in loro prò il Padre ha concesso questa santa bolla, non trascurate di contribuire per questa importante opera da tanto loro vantaggio. Ed a voi N. M. che avete dato due reali d'argento limosina stabilita da noi Alfonso Airoldi arcivescovo d' Eraclea, commissario generale apostolico della SSa. Convocata in questo regno di Sicilia, &c. per l'anima di Alberto Mariando, ed avete ricevuto questa santa bolla, si conferma la sopradetta indulgenza. Data in Palermo, Luglio, 1803.

* Od. xli. 114.

proprietors, ready in general to forestal a future crop for a present supply—and whose gains, we will add, whatever they are, are abundantly graced by the friendly manner in which the traveller is received and entertained under their hospitable roofs. 'The currant vine is cultivated in the islands of Lipari, nearly in the same manner as the grape, and the fruit is gathered toward the latter end of August, when it is exposed to the sun for seven or eight days, sprinkled with a lie that absorbs the acidity, and is then packed up for exportation.'

The olive grows in great plenty, 'and much common oil is made in all parts of the island;' but the fruit being often left to be blown from the tree by a strong wind, instead of being plucked at the seasonable moment; often again suffered to ferment before the juice is extracted; and the baskets in which it is inclosed when placed under the strettojo or press, not being annually changed, the oil is apt to prove pungent and rancid.

The figs, which are delicious when fresh, are prevented from taking their place in the market through similar neglect, and, after undergoing the usual process of drying, are commonly found tough and dirty.

The almond, requiring less attention, is more successfully cultivated. Orange and lemon trees cover the valleys with their golden harvest, 'Hesperian fables true.' Manna is derived from the northern parts of Sicily in considerable quantities. 'In July and August horizontal incisions are made in the bark of the *fraxinus ornus*, from whence a frothy, glutinous, light-coloured liquor exudes, and is received on the leaves of the dry prickly pear, (the most useful of Sicilian plants,) where, by the warmth of the sun, it quickly condenses into a stalactitic mass,' is then taken to the stores in baskets, and packed in boxes for foreign sale.

Sicily also supplies considerable quantities of liquorice. 'The roots of the plant (*glycyrrhiza glabra*) are cut into slips and bruised; then thrown into a cauldron and boiled for several hours to soften and moisten them; they are afterwards placed on a strainer through which the juice trickles into a trough: this liquor is again boiled till it condenses to a thick black paste, when it is packed up in bay-leaves for exportation.'

Pistacio nuts, saffron and sumach are also grown for foreign markets; and Sicily derives still greater profit from that vegetable salt, the barilla. The *salsola-kali*, having been sown in February or March, is cut in October; it is then 'placed in convenient heaps on grates over cavities, where, when dry or nearly so, it is set on fire, and the lixivious ashes falling through and adhering together, are taken out in as large lumps as possible; the smaller pieces and the dust are of less value.'

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The present population of Sicily, Captain Smyth estimates, after patient inquiry and access to public returns, at about 1,800,000; and finds that, since the year 1812, it has been rapidly increasing. Still what a falling off is here! Dionysius, we are informed, induced 60,000 citizens of Syracuse to assist him in constructing the walls of Epipolæ: now supposing him to have taken one out of each family, and each family to have consisted of four members, the amount would have been 300,000; 'and whoever is acquainted with the manners and customs of antiquity,' says Mr. Hughes, 'as described by the best historians, will not think it too much if he quadruple the number, to comprise all the sojourners and slaves residing within the walls.' This calculation, however, rests upon the accuracy of a fact recorded by Diodorus, long after it was said to have occurred; and is scarcely to be reconciled with the more sober statement of Thucydides, that 'Syracuse was a city not less than Athens.'

A word on the *character* of the modern Sicilian, (to complete our range through those points by which Ulysses distinguishes a prosperous state,)—it will be found to be the natural result of the circumstances in which he is placed. A Sicilian is more apt to defend himself by cunning than courage, and is so dependent on the help of others that he knows not how to trust to himself: he calls on Jupiter when he ought to put his shoulder to the wheel, and sheds tears when he should show spirit. He yields to difficulties which he might readily conquer, and is guided by accidents which he might himself controul. He makes splendid professions when he trusts their sincerity will not be tried—and is at once mean and ostentatious. His house is a palace, himself an excellency, his errand-boy an ambassador: and yet his palace-windows may be without glass; his excellency without a whole coat; and his boy without a dinner, unless he steals it. He is prodigiously ceremonious, and listens to a king's proclamation about an order—the riband—the St. George 'trafigendo un dragone enorme'—with as much gravity as he would attend to a declaration of war. He is ignorant, not from want of capacity, which is quick and lively, but from sheer indolence; if he is a peasant, unable to tell you the name of the river that glides past him, or the flower that he treads on every day—if a noble, at a loss, perhaps, whether England or France lie south or north of him—if a man of letters, possessed perhaps of half a dozen broken pipkins, of which he has got up an explanation to enlighten or amaze the traveller, and enamoured of some unintelligible coin that indicates nothing.* He has

* The subject of the architectural antiquities of Sicily, we are glad to find, is likely to receive some new lights from the labours of Mr. Angell and Mr. Harris, (the latter gentleman

has little regard for truth, as might be supposed, when in his religion he sees falsehood consecrated; and when, from the absence of commerce, he is not taught by self-interest that truth is profitable. It has been observed by a great moralist that there are 'few ways of spending time more innocently than in gaming money,' and we apprehend, it will be ever found that where there is much merchandize there will be strict veracity. He naturally gambles and intrigues for mere lack of employment; tables of hazard supplying to the upper classes that excitement which honourable ambition affords elsewhere; and lotteries and morra furnishing occupation to those who ought to be busied with the lathe or the loom. Such is the Sicilian; the creature of evil times—and yet there are some brighter traits in his character too. He ardently loves his country, and is grateful to those whom he reckons its benefactors. His feelings are warm, often venting themselves in expressions of great natural eloquence, and always accompanied by gestures the most striking and significant. He is sprightly and sociable—loves a procession and a *ràee*-show—and forgets all his grievances in the sweet delirium of a Saint's day or a Carnival. Though left pretty much to do what seemeth good in his own sight, provided always he reverence the government and church, he seldom

gentleman unfortunately since dead,) who, in the spring of 1825, acting upon a hint of Sir W. Gell, excavated a few feet about the ruins of the far-famed Temples of Selinunte, and made some discoveries of cornices and sculptured metopes, which they were prevented however from prosecuting by the intervention (*pro singulari sua humanitate*, Bentley would have said) of the Sicilian government. To their examination of the opposite hill, which had hitherto almost escaped notice, the like impediments do not seem to have been offered, probably because the search was considered fruitless. Here, however, they ascertained the site and proportions of three other temples, and dug up many metopes sculptured in high relief, of a date perhaps half a century antecedent to part of the *Acgina* marbles, and at least a century and a half before any application of sculptures to metopes (hitherto supposed the first) in the Temple of Theseus. We have seen the following description of one of these pieces. 'The subject,' says Mr. Angell, 'is the death of Medusa and the birth of Pegasus. Perseus, supported by the presence of Minerva, and armed with the helmet of Pluto and adamant sword of Mercury, with his left hand on the crown of the head of Medusa, his look averted from the object of his horror, forces her on one knee; while with his right hand, directed by the goddess, he thrusts the point of the sword into the throat of the Gorgon. The new-born Pegasus, a winged foal, springs immediately from her blood; Medusa with solicitude clasps him with her left arm and presses him to her side. The Gorgon herself is a horrid figure, above the human size; her breasts loose and hanging; her "iron hands" alapeless; her large round head and face rise from her shoulders without neck; all her features are monstrous; her projecting ears are close to the eyes, which are large, staring, and painted red; her nose is flat and spreading; and her mouth, extending the whole width of the face, is armed on each side with two immense fangs, between which the protruded tongue hangs over the chin. Her hair is in abundance and flows down in front over the shoulders, without any indication of its change into serpents, but seeming rather to express, in its luxuriant beauty, the charm by which she enchanted her admirers before her metamorphosis.

'The *egis* and drapery of Minerva are painted, as are the girdle and drapery round the waist of Perseus: the eyes and eye-brows of all the figures are also painted.'

commits

commits acts of great atrocity, and rarely sheds blood except in moments of ungovernable passion.

But we must proceed—we have already hinted at the *sober* *visions* which Captain Smyth gives us of this island of fiction.

Scylla. 'As the breadth across this celebrated strait has been so often disputed, I particularly state that the Faro tower is exactly 6047 English yards from that classical bug-bear the rock of Scylla,' (Homer says an arrow's flight,) 'which by poetical fiction has been depicted in such terrific colours. But the flight of poetry can seldom bear to be shackled by homely truth; and if we are to receive the fine imagery that places the summit of this rock in clouds brooding (over) eternal mists and tempests; that represents it as inaccessible to a man provided with twenty hands and twenty feet; and immerses its base among ravenous sea-dogs; why not also receive the whole circle of mythological dogmas of Homer, who, though so frequently dragged forth as an authority in history, theology, surgery, and geography, ought in justice to be read only as a poet. In the writings of so exquisite a bard we must not expect to find all his representations chiefly confined to a mere accurate narration of facts. Moderns of intelligence in visiting this spot, have gratified their imaginations, already heated by such descriptions as the escape of the Argonauts and the disasters of Ulysses, with fancying it the scourge of seamen, and that in a gale its "caverns roar like dogs," but I, as a sailor, never perceived any difference between the surges here and on any other coast, yet I have frequently watched it close in bad weather. It is now, as I presume it ever was, a common rock of bold approach, a little worn at its base, (and surmounted by a castle,) with a sandy bay on each side.—p. 107.

There, Homer! 'Mark how a plain tale sets you down!'

Charybdis. We suppose a greater number of serious charges was never preferred against any luckless whirlpool, than against this. Let Captain Smyth be again heard, whose authority upon a point of Mediterranean hydrography, we scruple not to say, is at least equal to that of Ulysses.

'Outside the tongue of land, or Braccio di S. Rainiere, that forms the harbour of Messina, lies the galofaro or celebrated vortex of Charybdis, which has, with more reason than Scylla, been clothed with terrors by the writers of antiquity. To the undecked boats of the Rhegians, Locrians, Zancleans, and Greeks, it must have been formidable; for even in the present day, small-craft are sometimes endangered by it, and I have seen several men of war and even a 74 gun-ship whirled round on its surface; but by using due caution, there is generally very little danger or inconvenience to be apprehended. It appears to be an agitated water, of from seventy to ninety fathoms in depth, circling in quick eddies. It is owing probably to the meeting of the harbour and lateral currents with the main one, the latter being forced over in this direction by the opposite point of Pezzo. This agrees in some measure with the relation of Thucydides, who calls it a violent reciprocation of the Tyrrhene and Sicilian seas, and he is the only writer of remote

antiquity that I remember to have read, who has assigned this danger its true situation, and not exaggerated its effects. Many wonderful stories are told respecting this vortex, particularly some said to have been related by the celebrated diver Colas, who lost his life here. I have never found reason, however, during my examination of this spot, to believe any of them.—p. 124.

Etna. The altitude of this 'pillar of heaven and eternal nurse of snows,' Captain Smyth estimates at 10,874 feet, which gives about 150 miles for the radius of vision. The present crater, which has been stated, absurdly enough, on the authority of Pliny, to be twenty stadia or two miles and a half in circumference, (and by some travellers to be nearer four,) our author describes as 'an oval, stretching from E. and by N. to W. and by S., with a conjugate diameter of 493 yards; the transverse he was prevented from ascertaining by a dense cloud that arose before his operations were completed.'

The following is an account of its interior :

'From the edge of the crater, the interior, through successive strata of volcanic substances, is incrustated with various coloured efflorescences of ammonia, sulphur, and martial vitriolic salts, to the depth of about a hundred yards on the east, but considerably less on the west side. The efflorescences of a beautiful orange yellow are the most predominant. The bottom of the crater is plain, and tolerably hard, though, from being composed of loose cinders, the feet sink in some places; near the centre, are two mounds of scorice and ashes, each with a large aperture at the summit, and several fissures around, from whence, at intervals, issue volumes of thick smoke, with a rumbling noise and hissing sound. There is, also, a light thin vapour, occasionally oozing from the bottom and sides of the huge amphitheatre in every direction. I endeavoured to look into the principal chasm, but the rapid ejection of the cinders, and the strong sulphureous vapours that exuded, prevented me from attaining my object; and, indeed, I could not but feel apprehensive that a nearer approach, where the footing was so frail, might prove too hazardous; besides which, the heat and smoke had increased to such a degree, that it was high time to regain the summit.'

Captain Smyth accordingly ascends, and makes some remarks on the exterior of the cone.

'When on a sudden the ground trembled under our feet, a harsh rumbling with sonorous thunder was heard, and volumes of heavy smoke rolled over the side of the crater, while a lighter one ascended vertically, with the electric fluid escaping from it in frequent flashes in every direction. The shortness of the time that had elapsed since I was in the crater, rendered me thankful for so providential an escape; but even from the spot on which we stood it was necessary to remove with the utmost expedition, and before we could effect our retreat, we were overtaken by a disagreeable, cold, humid cloud that annoyed and retarded our progress.'—p. 132.

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We will here correct Captain Smyth upon one point in which he errs with almost every traveller in Sicily, and indeed with the Sicilians themselves. He seems to consider (p. 149.) that the ascent of *Ætna* is not practicable in winter. In defiance of the difficulties started by the people of Catania and repeated by the Nicolosi guide, we gained the summit of *Ætna* on the 27th January, 1819.* That it is a work of severe labour at such a season cannot be denied, the snow extending ten or twelve miles down the mountain, and mules being consequently so far useless. But the labour is not such as need deter a stout pedestrian from undertaking it; and splendid indeed is the reward which awaits him when he seems to desery at once from that proud pinnacle 'all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them.'

'Such is the nature of the climate at Syracuse,' says Cicero, (who would fain insinuate that Verres had changed it for the worse,) 'that there is no day in the year, wherein the sun is not visible at one time or other.' For the truth of all this, every classical traveller could vouch; and, of course, be prepared to deny all pretensions in scholarship to a plain man who might assure them that he had been very wet or very cold in Italy or Sicily. The thing is manifestly impossible—there is an innubilis æther over both these countries! What, however, says Captain Smyth? 'In the year 1814, there were one hundred and twenty-one overcast and cloudy days, on eighty-three of which rain fell—thirty-six misty days—and one hundred and fifty-nine fine bright days.'—p. 4. 'To count,' observes Johnson, 'is a modern practice; the ancient method was to guess, and when numbers are guessed, they are always augmented.'

The last chapter of the present volume is occupied with an account of the *Æolian* or *Lipari* islands; scenes which, owing to the untoward circumstances usually attending sea-voyages, have seldom been visited; but which Captain Smyth had every facility for exploring, and of which he gives a very minute and pleasing description. Nearly all these islands are inhabited; (*Lipari*, the largest, containing upwards of 12,000 souls;) and the

* We have stated this fact for the benefit of future travellers in Sicily, whose wanderings may fall out in the winter months. If they wish in earnest to ascend *Ætna*, we charge them not to be discomposed by the 'è impossibile, Signori,' of every Sicilian they may meet; and we further advise them to signify to their guide that they shall graduate his pay by the altitude to which he leads them. With these provisos, we venture to predict, that they will reach the summit. It is singular enough, that it was on the 28th of January that Swinburne relinquished all thoughts of gaining the summit, in compliance with the idle counsel of his conductor. Possibly when the spring is further advanced, and the snow is beginning to melt, the ascent may not be feasible; in January the surface of the snow is hard, (at least early in the morning) and will support the foot.

smaller ones appear to be chiefly governed by the moral influence of popular and patriarchal priests. In Lampedusa, it seems, a Mr. Fernandez, an English gentleman, settled ten or twelve years ago, on a commercial speculation; and when Captain Smyth last visited the island he 'found his family living in almost deserted solitude, without the slightest protection from rovers, or, what is worse, from infected vessels putting in there, which has ever been a common practice.' The other inhabitants were twelve or fourteen Maltese peasants scattered about in different caves. What strange beings are Englishmen! We should have imagined, had the supposition been consistent with the date of Mr. Fernandez' exile, that he might be some good whig, who had withdrawn from the impolicy and misery of his country, to take refuge under the genial shadow of a Neapolitan monarchy, and judge for himself how grievously 'our Bohemia differs from your Sicilia.' This, however, does not appear.

These islands are in general cultivated with care, and yield grapes, currants, figs, prickly pears, cotton, olives and pulse; while, at the same time, they carry on a considerable trade in bitumen, pumice, nitre, pozzolana, cinnabar, coral and fish.

Stromboli is the only one still active as a volcano—volcano, properly so called, which threw up flames, smoke, and red-hot stones when D'Orville visited it in the seventeenth century, now only emitting sulphureous and heated vapour from a crater a mile and a quarter in circumference, and nearly a quarter of a mile deep.

'The crater of Stromboli,' says Captain Smyth, who climbed to a summit which commanded a view of it, and there waited the approach of night, 'is about one-third of the way down the side of the mountain, and is continually burning, with frequent explosions and a constant ejection of fiery matter—it is of a circular form and about 170 yards in diameter, with a yellow efflorescence adhering to its sides as to those of *Ætna*. When the smoke cleared away, we perceived an undulating ignited substance which at short intervals rose and fell in great agitation, and when swollen to the utmost height burst with a violent explosion, and a discharge of red-hot stones in a semi-fluid state, accompanied with showers of ashes and sand, and a strong sulphureous smell. The masses are usually thrown up from the height of sixty or seventy to three hundred feet; but some, the descent of which I computed to occupy from nine to twelve seconds, must have ascended above a thousand. In the moderate ejections the stones in their ascent gradually diverged, like a grand pyrotechnical exhibition, and fell into the abyss again, except on the side next the sea, where they rolled down in quick succession, after bounding from the declivity to a considerable distance in the water; a few fell near us, into which, while in a fluid state, we thrust small pieces of money as memorials for friends.

friends. I enjoyed this superb sight till near ten o'clock, and as it was uncommonly dark, our situation was the more dreadful and grand: for every explosion showed the abrupt precipice beneath, and the foam of the furious waves beating against the rocks, so far below us as to be unheard; while the detonations of the volcano shook the very ground we sat on. At length the night getting very cold I determined to descend; and in about an hour we entered the cottage of one of my guides, the hospitable Saverio."—p. 256.

This part of the work is the most novel, and therefore the most agreeable of the whole; but we cannot afford room for longer extracts, more especially as Captain Smyth (which our readers will by this time have discovered) is somewhat wordy; we shall conclude therefore with saying, that to officers on the Sicilian station we doubt not the present Memoir will be of very considerable value; as independently of the close description afforded in the course of the narrative, of the entire coast of Sicily, its rocks, shallows, soundings, creeks and caricatori, it contains an Appendix of more than forty pages, embracing bearings and other particulars of practical importance to navigators of those seas—whilst the height of the principal mountains, now ascertained for the first time—the population of every town and village given in a statistical table on the best authorities—the comparative salubrity of each—the commerce of the most considerable—the produce of the districts bordering on the coasts, and the general resources of the island, are so many topics of common interest, and are handled in the present work by one from whose science and opportunities, if more might reasonably have been expected, something has unquestionably been added to the stock of useful knowledge. Nor may it be out of place to mention, that admirers of the fine arts will be gratified by several very spirited engravings, (the plates by Daniell) which adorn this volume. For such *classical* recollections, as a tour in Sicily is calculated to awake, we certainly can refer our friends with greater satisfaction, to that part of Mr. Hughes's first volume of *Travels*, which treats upon Sicily. But whilst we admit the superior scholarship of one who is a scholar by 'vocation,' we bear testimony with unfeigned pleasure to the respectable share of ancient lore here exhibited by a member of a profession which opposes many and serious obstacles to its attainment;—by one, who must have pursued literature out of pure love for it, not in learned leisure or 'under the shelter of academic bowers,' but at intervals and in active life,

inter arma,
Sive jactatam religarat udo
Littore navim.

ART.

ART. VI.—1. *An Act for Consolidating and Amending the Laws relating to the Building, Repairing, and Regulating of Certain Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales.* 4 G. IV. c. 64. 10th July, 1823.

2. *First, Second, and Third Reports from the Committee on the Laws relating to Penitentiary Houses.*

3. *Report from the Committee on the State of the Gaols of the City of London, &c.*

4. *First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Reports of the Committee of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline.*

5. *Roscoe on Penal Jurisprudence.* London. 1819.

6. *Roscoe's Additional Observations on Penal Jurisprudence, &c.* London. 1823.

7. *Speech of G. Holford, Esq. on the Motion made by him in the House of Commons, June, 1814, for Leave to bring in a Bill for the better Management of the Prisons belonging to the City of London.*

Speech of G. Holford, Esq. in the House of Commons, June 22d, 1815, on the Bill to amend the Laws relative to the Transportation of Offenders, containing Provisions respecting the Confinement of Offenders in the Hulks.

***Speech of G. Holford, Esq. in Support of an Amendment, to withhold from the Visiting Justices of Prisons the Power of authorizing the Employment without their own Consent of Prisoners committed for Trial.* London. 1824.**

***Thoughts on the Criminal Prisons of this Country, &c.* By G. Holford, Esq. M.P. London. 1821.**

***A Short Vindication of the General Penitentiary at Millbank, &c.* By G. Holford, Esq. M.P. London. 1822.**

8. *An Inquiry whether Crime and Misery are produced or prevented by our present System of Prison Discipline.* By T. F. Buxton, Esq. M.P. London. 1818.

9. *Correspondence on Prison Labour.* By Sir J. C. Hipplesey. London. 1823.

10. *Thoughts on Prison Labour, &c. &c.* By a Student of the Inner Temple. London. 1824.

11. *Rules and Regulations of the General Penitentiary, Millbank.* 1822.

12. *Report on the Penitentiary at Millbank.* 1823.

WE have placed at the head of our paper rather a long list of documents and publications of different dates, and very unequal importance, but all relating more or less intimately to a great subject,

subject, which has for many years occupied the serious attention of the legislature, and which is well worthy of the consideration of every thinking and well disposed man. Prison discipline, indeed, like the criminal law, is a matter of universal interest; and what Blackstone, borrowing from Foster, has said of the latter, is equally true, perhaps more strikingly true, of the former; 'no rank or elevation in life, no uprightness of heart, no prudence or circumspection of conduct should tempt a man to conclude that he may not at some time or other be deeply interested in these researches. The infirmities of the best among us, the vices and ungovernable passions of others, the instability of all human affairs, and the numberless unforeseen events which the compass of a day may bring forth,' should prevent any one from being secure that he himself, or those in whom he is most deeply concerned, may not at some period or other become the inmates of a prison, and subject to its regulations. This is a motive which all may feel; but no reflecting man needs any thing so painful to excite his interest in the question; for the rapid increase of population, and the pressure of the demand for employment on the one hand, with the vast accumulation and exposure of wealth, and the progress of luxury and civilization on the other, have unavoidably so multiplied criminals, that the proper disposal of them is become one of the most serious problems in our legislation. The far larger proportion of these unhappy beings must expiate their offences in prison; while they remain there, the expense which they entail on the community, is enormous, and if they are discharged unreformed or unimpressed, the case of society seems hopeless under so great and spreading an evil.

We do not at present propose any thing more than a cursory review of this momentous subject, many parts of which can only be properly discussed at a length which our narrow limits preclude; but we are desirous to lay down a few principles, and to state as succinctly as we can what has been done, and what is doing in this country to provide against the evil.

The law of England from the earliest times has recognized three classes of persons at the least, as liable to imprisonment, the debtor, the accused criminal, and the convict. It is obvious that the imprisonment of each of these proceeds on different principles—we imprison him, whom we suspect of a crime, *solely* to secure his appearance at the day of trial: as the law most wisely and justly presumes him, although suspected, to be really innocent, this imprisonment must always carry with it some appearance of harshness, and be considered justifiable only through necessity; and the law accordingly never has recourse to it where any adequate substitute can be provided; even in cases of the most direct charge,
and

and under the imputation of the heaviest crimes, it lodges a power with its highest officers of estimating and accepting such substitute.* We imprison the convict for punishment; and the debtor in execution partly for punishment of the fraud which he is presumed or proved to have committed on his creditor, and partly as a mode of compelling him to produce or render available for the discharge of his debts that property which cannot be directly reached.

Though, however, the objects which the law has in view, in these three cases of imprisonment, are thus various, and though the duties which are incurred in consequence toward the unhappy subjects of it, will naturally have proportionate varieties, yet in some respects they will be entirely the same; certain things are proper, certain things necessary in every prison, and for every prisoner.

In the first place a main requisite is security; an insecure prison is a solecism in terms; on this point it would not be necessary to say a word, if all people were as well agreed in respect of the means as of the end. The ancient practice certainly was to rely more upon fetters and manacles, than the walls of the prison or the vigilance of the gaoler; the Prison Bill enacts that 'no prisoner shall be put in irons by the keeper of any prison except in cases of urgent and absolute necessity, and the particulars of every such case shall be forthwith entered in the keeper's journal, and notice forthwith given thereof to one of the visiting justices; and the keeper shall not continue the use of irons on any prisoner longer than four days, without an order in writing from a visiting justice specifying the cause thereof.'—s. x. Reg. 12. No one can doubt the propriety of such a regulation—we are satisfied that fettering the debtor or the accused criminal as a matter of course was always illegal; how far it stood within the protection of the law in the case of the convict seems to us not so clear. The common argument, that it is unlawful to exceed the terms of a sentence, and that a sentence of imprisonment says nothing of fetters, proves nothing; the sentence says nothing of many other prison privations, the legality of which cannot be doubted; it is general in its terms, and includes every circumstance which goes to make up the idea of legal imprisonment, so that the question always comes round to what is legal imprisonment. Waiving however a legal discussion which the statute just cited renders unnecessary, we agree with the warmest opposers of the practice that it was always inexpedient to iron even the convict, unless his own refractoriness made it neces-

* It is agreed that the Court of King's Bench, or any judge thereof in time of vacation, may bail for any crime whatsoever, be it treason, murder, or any other offence, according to the circumstances of the case.—4 Black. Com. p. 299.

sary as a punishment, or his desperation as a safeguard. Observation too will warrant us in going a step farther and expressing an opinion, that the frequent necessity for the use of fetters almost amounts to proof of some mismanagement in the prison in which it shall exist. It is not the least merit in the Prison Bill, that by the restrictions imposed on the use of them, greater care and more skilful management become necessary on the part of governors of prisons to supply their place.

The next thing is one which every prisoner under any circumstances has a right to require at the hands of the country, a prison healthy and clean; it can never be contended that it forms by implication any part even of the punishment of the convict that his health is to be injured, or his body polluted by filth; much less can the debtor, or the accused criminal, persons not unfrequently more unfortunate than culpable, be exposed with any justice to such aggravations of imprisonment.

Air and exercise, food and clothes such as are necessary for the sustentation of health, together with medicine and attendance when sick, stand upon the same principle; except in that short and awful interval which precedes execution, and which is spent in preparation for it, there can be no time or circumstance under which any prisoner may not demand all those things which are ordinarily necessary for the preservation of life. We are aware that in some of these last particulars, we may be thought to push the claims of the prisoner farther than justice requires; there are those who deny in the whole any claim of right which he can set up to food, clothing or lodging, and others who, admitting the abstract right, would yet practically reduce the quantity and quality below the scale implied in our preceding remarks. Not many years have passed since the regulations of many prisons corresponded with these opinions; either no regular allowance was made of food, clothing, fuel or bedding, or an allowance confessedly inadequate to preserve a healthy state of being. It is unnecessary now, and would therefore be invidious to produce from the evidence before Parliamentary Committees, or from other authentic sources, proof of practices in this respect as irreconcilable with all true notions of prison government, as with humanity and justice. The law, for the sake of the public, withdraws an individual from society and deprives him of the ordinary means of procuring the necessities of life; can the law suffer him to perish with cold, rot in filth, or starve with hunger? It is idle to say that he may pursue his own trade or any trade in prison; he may have been a labourer in husbandry, his craft may be one which he cannot exercise in a prison, or it may be of a nature, which is necessarily prohibited within the walls, or he may be unable to find a market for what he produces—unless therefore

therefore it be legal to starve him, he must be fed and clothed. With respect to the quantity or quality of the supplies, health can be the only general criterion; nothing is to be allowed to fancy on the one hand, nor to an unfeeling and unwise parsimony on the other. It is especially fallacious to regulate these articles by any comparison with the condition of other persons in other places, and under other circumstances. The specious topic of declamation against prison dietaries, that honest people fare worse than convicted criminals, has more than once been noticed and received its proper answer in the sensible pamphlets of Mr. Holford, which stand at the head of this paper.

‘There are, (says he) I fear, numbers of persons in this country who wear clothes which are insufficient to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, or who are lodged in close and ill-ventilated apartments, or who inhabit damp and unwholesome situations, or are employed at noxious trades, or work at unseasonable hours, or are subject to other hardships or privations of the like nature; but I have never heard it contended that these evils, from which it is not in our power to relieve other classes of the community, are on that account to be imposed upon prisoners. The food of persons confined for offences in a prison, as well as their clothing, lodging and employment, must be regulated with a due regard to their health, (it not being intended to inflict sickness or disease as a part of their punishment,) and the dietary of a prison becomes therefore a *medical question* connected with the circumstances of their particular situation, and not a question of comparison between them and persons in other places or conditions of life.’—*Thoughts on the Criminal Prisons of this Country, &c.**

It is a more difficult question, whether, in particular instances, the introduction of more generous food or greater comforts should be allowed according to other considerations than those of health; in other words, whether the ability of the party to purchase, or his industry and good behaviour should procure him luxuries denied to his fellow-prisoners in general. There is long practice, and high authority in favour of the affirmative; with regard to debtors, it is, we believe, universally allowed to them to procure from without any food or liquor, subject only to certain prohibitions and regulations; and as to prisoners who labour, it has long been the custom, in some of our best regulated prisons, to stimulate industry by allowing a portion of the profits earned by the prisoner to be spent by him in this way. This, according to the First Report of the Committee on the Laws relating to Penitentiary Houses, was the practice of the Southwell House of Correction;† and Mr. Buxton states that of the Bury Jail in the following words:

* The same argument is pursued by the same author, in the Short Vindication of the General Penitentiary at Millbank, &c. p. 6.

† See Rev. J. T. Becher's Evidence, p. 33.

‘That

That part of the money which is received in prison may be thus expended. One of the porters goes round twice a week, and writes down those things which the prisoners wish to purchase. This list, sometimes amounting to 200 articles, is submitted to the governor, who puts his pen through those which he deems improper. He then orders the others, and the prisoners receive them at cost price, and have weights, scales and measures to satisfy them as to the quantity.—*Inquiry, &c.* p. 81.

On the other hand, by the regulations of the Penitentiary House at Gloucester, as established by Sir George Paul, 'the prisoners did not become entitled to any portion of their earnings; nor did their daily fare depend in any degree on the quantity of work which they respectively performed: they lived by a fixed dietary, from which beer and all fermented liquors were excluded.' It was his opinion, and he was no slight authority on such a subject, that to give a portion of their earnings to prisoners, or better food in case of their labouring, was not productive of any benefit to them. *First Report*, pp. 17. 25.

The Prison Bill steers a middle course, allowing the introduction of food, not extravagant or luxurious, to debtors, or accused criminals, who receive no allowance from the county; and prohibiting it in the case of convicts, except under the permission of the visiting justices, or the regulations of the quarter-sessions.—s. x. reg. 14 and 15.

There can be no doubt that, by a system such as that of the Bury Jail, a more active industry may be produced among certain prisoners than they might otherwise be induced to exert; but we are satisfied that this must often be purchased by more than commensurate sacrifices. In the first place, it is impossible to confine this indirect species of reward to mere industry or orderly behaviour, as the indulgence must be regulated in a great measure by the amount of the earnings; and, supposing an equal inclination to labour in any two individuals, yet if one has more skill than the other, or has had the good fortune to learn a more lucrative trade, or if the other has learned only a trade which he cannot or may not practise within the walls of a prison, the comforts of the two, with equal merit, will become decidedly unequal. Mr. Holford, in the pamphlet before cited, asserts 'that the prisoners whose labour is most productive in the Penitentiary at Millbank, are not those whose behaviour entitles them to most consideration, or of whose eventual restoration with credit to society the chaplain entertains the most favourable expectation.' p. 53. It is obvious, indeed, that a system of this sort must be unfavourable in many respects to the reformation of the prisoners; its tendency being to confirm in the habit of looking to immediate self-indulgence as the

motive for action, men who have already found that motive too strong for their prudence or their conscience.

Such a system seems to us to be founded upon a short-sighted and mistaken view of the object of imprisonment; its advocates cannot be better represented than by Mr. Buxton, who says all that can be said for it in the ardent and ingenious manner which characterizes his work. He concludes thus: 'if the prisoner wishes for meat or any other indulgence, let him purchase it. Let superior food be the *direct* consequence of superior exertion. I must repeat, that I am much deceived if a man will not work more cheerfully and more industriously if he finds the product of his morning's labour in his dinner and in his supper, than if he waits five years for it.' p. 125. The excellent Howard found one great evil of our prisons to be a total want of employment, and he described in very fascinating colours the appearance which those presented in which the prisoners were fully employed. Undoubtedly a salutary change was produced—the giving all prisoners an opportunity of working, and compelling some to work, were among the most efficient causes of the great improvement which has taken place in our prisons; but it is to mistake the means for the end, when prisons are estimated by the cheerful activity of the labourers, and the quantity of productive labour within their walls. A prison ought to be a place of terror to those without, of punishment to those within; let us reform criminals if we can—it is a great and glorious object, uncertain in the result, but imperative in the obligation. Punishment, however, is certain; and it is one mode of punishment, severely felt by those who have led a life of self-indulgence, but unattended with any cruelty, to tie them down to a coarse, uniform diet.

Two exceptions may here be urged: we may be asked whether we would extend the rule to persons of the higher ranks of life, and convicted of offences such as libel, provocations to duel, &c., which ordinarily are understood to carry with them less of moral turpitude. We confess that we can see no reason for not carrying the rule so far; the health of the party must of course always be the first object, and it would be for the medical attendant to see that no change of habit was made so violent in its nature as to affect it; but rank or education ought not to lighten punishment; if they make the feelings more susceptible to an equal infliction, it must be remembered also that the moral restraint and social obligation were stronger, and that the violation of them merits a severer suffering.

The case of debtors also may be pressed on us; but, health being secured, we cannot say that there appears to us any injustice in subjecting them also to the mortification of their appetite. Every debtor

debtor in execution either can or cannot pay his creditor; if he can, and will not, preferring to spend in self-indulgence the substance which in truth belongs to his creditor rather than to himself, it is well that he should be prevented from gratifying so unjust a desire; if he cannot, then he is supposed to be in a state of destitution, and the prison allowance must be a desirable relief to him.

Waiving therefore many minor, yet important considerations, such as the difficulty of preserving uniform discipline, or consistent details in a prison, in which the prisoners are allowed a different scale of diet, varying according to their own fancies, we come to these conclusions—that all have a right to be fed, and that all should be confined to the same prison allowance, qualifying the rule in individual cases according to the directions of the medical officer of the prison; and, if any other variation be allowed, we should prefer the indulgence being granted as the reward of orderly behaviour, to the regulating it by the amount of the prisoner's earnings.

It is time to pass on;—the prisoner, of whatever description, has further claims to be protected from the corruption of bad society, and to be afforded an opportunity of performing uninterrupted his religious duties. These are sacred and irresistible claims; no matter in what state of mind he enters within the prison walls, he has a right to have the full, unbroken benefit of perhaps the first sobering shock which he ever experienced in his reckless course. No one can tell what the effect of that might have been, if it had been allowed its full force; every one knows what its effect will be, if he be greeted on his arrival by companions as abandoned as himself. No matter that he brings with him an ample portion of corruption to the general mass; however bad he is, unrestrained communication with others, even less depraved, can only make him worse; even to instruct the ignorant in vice is to harden and debase the heart of the instructor. If, on the other hand, he enters the prison an inexperienced and young offender, he has not merely a claim to be able to retire from pollution which may disgust him; but he has that kind of claim which a child has on his parent, or a pupil on his tutor, not to be exposed to be corrupted by it. He has a claim, not merely to be able one day in the week to attend public worship; but, when he is deserted by all other friends, he requires the more intimate and constant attendance of a spiritual guide. In cases of this sort the need founds the right; but it will be in vain that he receives the advice or exhortation, if he receives it under the eye and liable to the sneering interruptions of profligate fellow-prisoners. No prison is perfect in its regulations, that does not protect the feelings, as well as the persons and properties of the prisoners from each other. Mr. Hol-

ford has well observed ' that it is sport to men hardened in a long course of iniquity to turn the signs of repentance and remorse into ridicule, and to disturb the good resolutions and wound the feelings of those of their comrades, round whose hearts the callus of vice is not yet completely formed.*'

Upon the head of religious instruction and attendance, the Prison Bill has made a most important improvement in our criminal law. The duties of the chaplain are marked out with fullness and precision; the inmates of a jail require, and they will henceforward receive, even more minute and constant attendance than the poor of the most favoured parishes. The chaplain is very properly made one of the most responsible and important officers of the prison; his salary is regulated, not extravagantly and yet liberally, with reference to the number of prisoners; a pension is provided for him in case of sickness, age, or infirmity; and the situation may be now made to present, if the magistracy are disposed to act in hearty accordance with the legislature, which we do not doubt, an ample and not undesirable field for the exertion of zeal and talent in the Christian ministry.

We have now stated, though not so concisely as we could have wished, the claims which prisoners of every description seem to us to have on the country; on the other hand, the rights which the country has over the inmates of its prisons will vary in many respects of course with the causes which place them there; but there are certain general powers which it may justly exercise in all cases. It has a right to general order and decency within the prison; and for this purpose it may enforce proper discipline on every individual, and reasonably punish the breach of it. For the same purpose, it may regulate the prison hours, and the mode of employment of all the prisoners, even of those whom it has no power of compelling to labour, restricting it to such kinds of work as may be fittingly and wholesomely carried on within the walls, directing the sale of the produce and apportioning the earnings in such manner as may best accord with the regulations of the place; it has a right to restrain the intercourse of the prisoners with each other, and to exercise an entire controul over the visits of friends from without.

This last is a matter of great importance, and some difficulty; on the one hand, to deny even to the convicted prisoner all intercourse with his family and friends is not merely a measure of great severity, requiring some clear advantage as its justification, but, in our opinion, is to throw away a powerful mean, under proper regulations, of encouragement and moral improvement;—on the other hand, it cannot be doubted that great injury is done to the disci-

* Speech on the Bill containing Provisions as to Offenders in the Hulks, p. 17.
pline

pline of the prison, and to the public, by an indiscriminate admission of visitors. A prison whose gates are perpetually admitting idle spectators will necessarily lose half its terrors. Those salutary ideas of loathsomeness and misery which men associate with a jail, and which naturally tend to the prevention of crime, cannot fail to be much weakened by a sight of the cleanliness and order, the decent apparel and seeming comfort, which are found within the walls; men commonly judge from what they see, and make little account of what they do not see, the solitude and wearisomeness, the hard fare and hard labour of the prisoners. They will therefore leave the prison, believing that the sufferings of confinement have been exaggerated; and what they believe they may act upon; at least they will eagerly circulate the statement.

A late report of the Inspectors of the Auburn State Prison to the Legislature of New York is now lying before us; and they are so impressed with these considerations, that they state themselves to have doubled the usual fee on admission for the purpose of discouraging visitors; and they declare, with sufficient plainness, their opinion that it would be better to exclude them entirely, if it were not for the prejudice against the Penitentiary system, which a measure of such apparent harshness and suspicious concealment might excite in the public mind. We cannot coincide with this opinion, and least of all should we assent to its being acted upon in a Penitentiary. Where the term of imprisonment is short, and the object is to break a stubborn and reckless spirit, this or any other measure of temporary severity *may* be useful; but in a system which calculates on the gradual reformation of a prisoner in the course of a long confinement by a mixture of severity and kindness, nothing can be more desirable than that occasional intercourse should be kept up between him and his family. At the same time that it is the most innocent reward that can be devised for good behaviour, it is no more than a natural step in the plan, which seeks ultimately to restore him to society—to re-unite the broken links which once bound him to his friends; to prevent his entire despair of re-admission into their circle; to keep alive his interest in their affections, and to make them not unwilling to receive him on his enlargement.

The notion of a fee on admission is rather strange to our feelings, but we take for granted that that is not the only requisite. The regulations of the Prison Bill, as we understand them, (it is not the merit of the Bill to speak with peculiar clearness,) put the matter on the right footing; prisoners only committed for trial are to receive visits at proper times and under proper restrictions, settled by the governor, or visiting justices; and convicts only under such rules and regulations as may be determined on at the quarter-sessions.

In this part of our subject one more topic remains to be discussed, but of great importance, the employment of the prisoners. It is obvious that this can have reference only to those who are confined upon suspicion, or for punishment of crimes; but with regard to each of these classes great difference of opinion prevails, both as to the principle and the mode of enforcing it. The law and common sense agree in making a wide distinction between prison employment and hard labour, and as the latter can only be imposed upon a prisoner by the sentence of a court of justice, it of course can never apply but to the case of convicts. The former is undoubtedly desirable for all prisoners, and every proper and rational inducement should be held out to them to engage in it, inducements which experience warrants us in saying will scarcely ever fail of success. It is a question, however, to which late circumstances have attached some consequence, whether there is any legal power, directly or indirectly, to compel persons, either untried, or sentenced simply to imprisonment, to labour. The general practice, we believe, varies much in this respect between these two classes; in a great, perhaps the greater number of prisons, in which the reformation of the prisoner is attempted, a convict sentenced to imprisonment only is directly or indirectly compelled to work, as a *part of prison discipline*; but in scarcely any is the same rule observed with regard to persons only committed for trial. It would be as difficult perhaps to find a direct authority in law for compelling the convict to work, as the untried prisoner; but many of the reasons which apply with great cogency against compulsion on the latter, certainly do not exist in respect of the former. Where a man has been proved guilty of a crime against society, for which it is thought necessary to punish him by seclusion, society has a right to subject him to such discipline as may be thought likely to make him harmless to her interests when he shall be restored to liberty: this would warrant direct compulsion. And as to the indirect compulsion of withholding sustenance from him if he refuses to earn it by labour, there can be no injustice in this, for he can have no *positive* claim to maintenance; it is true that he has been withdrawn from his trade, or occupation, but that is a necessary part of the punishment of his crime, the forfeiture of the means of resorting to his former mode of earning a livelihood.

But with a man committed only on suspicion, whom the law still presumes to be innocent, and deprives of liberty *only* because it sees no other mode of securing his appearance at the day of trial, all the reason is in favour of his immunity from every other privation or interference. Direct compulsion, we believe, has never been attempted; the only ground on which it could be put would be

be the enforcement of discipline; and undoubtedly that must be preserved, even by severe measures, if necessary, over every prisoner. We are not, therefore, disposed to deny, that for riot or disorderly behaviour an unconvicted criminal may, from the necessity of the case, be treated as a convict; in whatever character he comes, he is bound so far to submit to the laws of the place, as not to interfere with the peace and good order of others. But this is an argument which will never justify the compulsory labour of a peaceable and orderly, but slothful or even obstinate prisoner.

If this be so as to direct compulsion, is any better plea to be offered for the indirect compulsion of bread and water diet, or absolute refusal of sustenance? We are aware that this involves a question of great importance, which may be said to have already received an answer from the Judges of the court of King's Bench. Our readers are aware that we allude to the case of the King against the Justices of the North Riding.* We hope we shall not be accused of disrespect to men, whom we so highly respect as the Judges of the King's Bench, when we venture to doubt, whether that case was so fully considered as it might have been; undoubtedly it would have been heard with greater advantage if it had been argued on both sides, and not disposed of summarily upon an ex-parte application for a mandamus. According to the report, at the close of the motion, the Counsel furnished the Court with three statutes, (the earliest being 19 Charles II. c. iv.) as being the only statutes bearing on the case; and the judgment proceeds on the consideration of those statutes, and certain assumed principles of the common law. Now, without examining whether all the inferences negatively drawn from those statutes were correct, we would observe, that a very important statute on the question was passed in the 14th of Elizabeth: it is c. v. and intituled 'for the Punishment of Vagabondes, and relief of the Poore and Impotent.' The earlier clauses provide for the apprehension and punishment of vagabonds, sturdy beggars, &c. and for the maintenance and settlement of the aged and impotent poor: it is indeed one of the earlier laws of settlement. The twenty-third section empowers three justices of the peace, in such convenient places within their shires as they shall think meet, to place and settle to work the rogues and vagabonds *that shall be disposed to work*, there to be holden to work 'to get their livings, and be sustained *only* upon their labour and travail.' But how were those to be supported who were committed because they would not work, during their imprisonment and

* This case will be found reported in the second volume of *Barnewall and Cresswell's Reports*, p. 286, to which report our remarks apply. It will be seen that our observations were written before the notice of Mr. Peel's declaratory bill, but it may be satisfactory still to see the grounds on which the bill rests.

previously to their trial? The preamble to the thirty-eighth section, which provides for them, is curious, and as follows: 'Whereas, by reason of this acte the common gaoles of every shire within this realme are lyke to be greatlye pestered with a more number of prisoners than heretofore hath byn, for that the said vacabondes, and other lewde persons before recited shall uppon their apprehension be committed to the comon gaole of the same shier where they are so taken and apprehended, and that in moste shires of this realme the common gaoles are in such townes where there bee a great number of poore people *more than they are well able to sustaine with their relief*, and in some shires the assizes are kept farre distant from the place where the comon gaoles are; by reason whereof the said prisoners are lyke to faniyshe for want of sustenance, *yf they be not therefore provided*'—it then goes on to enact, that the justices at sessions shall fix a rate on every parish, to be collected by the churchwardens, paid to the high-constables, and by them at sessions handed over to certain officers appointed by the justices, who are to distribute it weekly for the relief of these untried prisoners. Now, when we consider the period at which this act was made, the then existing state of our prisons, and the persons to whom the money was to be paid, it seems to us not too much to say, that here is a legislative provision made for prisoners, not dependent on their readiness to work, but with a clear understanding of their ability and refusal to work; because, if they were either unable, or willing, they would have been provided for in different ways under the other clauses of the act. This section of the act we believe is still in force.

Neither do we think the argument from the common law more fortunate. One of the most acute judges who ever sate on the English bench asks, 'What right has a prisoner, to whom work is offered, and who is able to do it, but will not, to have any food at the expense of the county?' and reasons on the analogy of the poor laws. With great deference, we must be allowed to say that the analogy seems to us wholly fallacious. The pauper at liberty has his own occupation, or is bound to choose one, and has no right to the public money, unless he will labour in the one or the other: but the prisoner committed for trial is an *innocent* man, whom for the benefit of society the law has removed from his occupation, and taken from the spot in which, or the connections among whom, or the implements by which it was his choice to earn his bread. As the number of occupations without a prison is infinite, and that of those within necessarily few, it is probable that he really cannot exercise the new craft, to which he is set, *profitably*; he is to be there for a few months, weeks, or days; he has not time to learn it; it will be useless to him, and useless to the county, that

that he should learn it: it may even tend to unfit him for that former occupation to which he intends and has a right to return. These and many more considerations might be urged, but we do not rely on any of them; it seems to us that there is no reply to a short answer of this kind—'You have taken me from my chisel and plane, or my trowel, with which I am content to earn my bread; you have no right to oblige me to learn another trade, or to labour even in that *here*, and you have no right to starve me.' We do not of course dispute the propriety or legality of his imprisonment, but to *him* the legality makes no difference, the law acts upon him against his will, and is bound to take charge of him, and restore him unharmed to society after his trial, if acquitted, or give him up a living sacrifice to punishment, if convicted.

We call the man an *innocent man*: no considerate reader will smile at that epithet: if legal maxims mean any thing, he is innocent, and he is entitled in all respects, consistent with personal restraint, to be treated as such. Accused criminals must be *all* treated as innocent, or *all* as guilty, and when that alternative is put, the wisdom and justice of the legal presumption of innocence, and its strict accordance with the whole genius of English law, become most apparent. It is seriously to be regretted that some wider distinction cannot be made between accused and convicted prisoners. There is such a force in the association of ideas with names, that it would be well if the former could acquire some new appellation implying no guilt; it would be well, if they could be confined in some separate building not termed a prison, and not inferring disgrace from a residence in it. These may seem visionary wishes: but there is surely a monstrous and unhappy confusion in the ideas of those who can so destroy all distinctions, as to apply to persons who may be in fact innocent, and whom the law presumes to be so, the hardest, most odious, and irksome labour, which can be imposed on convicted prisoners.

With respect to hard labour as a useful mode of punishment and correction there cannot well, we think, be much difference of opinion; and without adopting all the rigour of the French code,* few will in theory deny that it ought to be severe and irksome, a real punishment, not a mere employment. When, however, this subject first attracted the public attention, the benevolent individuals in different counties who took the largest share in directing the measure, seldom ventured (to use Sir George Paul's words)†

* Les hommes condamnés aux travaux forcés seront employés aux travaux les plus pénibles; ils traineront à leurs pieds un boulet, ou seront attachés deux à deux avec une chaîne, lorsque la nature du travail auquel ils seront employés, le permettra.—Code Pénal, c. 1. s. 15.

† First Report of Committee on Penitentiary Houses, p. 47.

‘to turn their eyes from income and profit to a county rate; every house of correction was to become a busy manufactory, and to maintain itself.’ Much as we are advocates for industry in prisoners, and economy of public money, we think both may be purchased too dearly; and we are not sorry, we confess, that in almost every place in which the manufactory-system has been tried, it has proved if not a failing concern on the whole, yet certainly far less profitable than was expected. We do not, of course, mean to condemn all profitable labour of the prisoners, but we are anxious that it should never be the primary object; in truth the best economy is in that system which produces the fewest recommittals, and prevents the most crimes. At all events, wherever the prisoners are employed with a view to profit, one rule we deem quite indispensable,—it is, that the keeper, he who is to regulate the discipline, and watch over the behaviour of the prisoners, should not be permitted in any way, directly or indirectly, to share in the produce of their labour. Wherever he is, his interest and his duty are set in opposition to each other in a thousand supposable and probable cases; it is enough to say, that his eye will in all probability be fixed on the skill and activity, rather than the orderly behaviour of his prisoners. Mr. Holford has on this point expressed himself very sensibly.

‘There are many occasions on which work, which is to produce profit, will run counter to discipline and moral improvement. It will often be found convenient to the taskmaster to bring together, for purposes of manufacture, prisoners who ought not on other accounts to be permitted to associate with each other, and it is often very much against his interest that a prisoner, from whom others are to receive instruction, or on whose exertions in some particular branch of manufacture they may depend for materials, or who is to put the finishing hand to the work on which they are employed, should be taken away from them to be placed in strict confinement for some fault committed within the prison. It is for the benefit of the concern in regard to profit, to overlook much, to forgive much, and to grant much indulgence to a skilful manufacturer; and there is danger that many an offence or irregularity will be suffered to pass without notice in such a prison, lest work should stand still, or a constant customer be disappointed. If the skill of the manufacturer may thus create an improper influence in his favour, it may, on the other hand, sometimes operate as improperly to his prejudice, and prolong his imprisonment by rendering him too useful to be parted with, and thus delaying an application for his pardon on the score of merit. And there is one point upon which the real and pecuniary interests of a prison must always be at variance—its real interests require that the prisoners employed as wardsmen or cooks, or in the performance of other services in the prison, should be selected from the most orderly and trust-worthy prisoners; whereas the taskmaster would

would always wish to see placed in such situations those of whom he can make the least, not the best men, but the worst workmen.*

From these objections what is strictly termed hard labour is entirely free, and in this part of our subject it is impossible to pass over in silence the Tread-wheel, an invention which has certainly been exposed to most unfounded attacks, and perhaps been praised far beyond its real merits, but which we do not hesitate to pronounce a most important instrument of prison discipline. The fifth Report of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline has just been put into our hands, and useful and excellent as it is in general, it is in no part more sensible, instructive, or moderate than in what it communicates on this subject. As might be expected, a great deal of ignorance prevails on the subject; and although almost every tread-wheel varies practically in the quantity of labour which it imposes, and consequently in great measure in the effect which it is calculated to produce, the machine is praised or blamed as if it were one thing, the same in every prison. Now when it is considered that the labour of the tread-wheel is by ascending steps, and that the amount of ascent made must depend on the number of hours employed, the velocity of the wheel, (which, when there is no fly-regulator, will also vary with the number of men on it at the same time,) the distance from step to step, and the proportion of those out of each gang, who are on the wheel at one time, to those who are off, it is obvious that what may be very true of one wheel may be entirely false of another. Thus, to select a few instances out of many which have been ascertained: at Lewes each prisoner works at the rate of 6,600 feet in ascent per day; at Ipswich, 7,450; at St. Albans, 8,000; at Bury, 8,950; at Cambridge, 10,175; at Durham, 12,000; at Brixton, Guildford, and Reading the summer rate exceeds 13,000; while at Warwick the summer rate will be 17,000 feet in ten hours, if the present resolution be adhered to; which upon reflection, we are quite sure, it never will, as no strength could long endure such labour. In addition to these immense differences, those of the dietaries must also be taken into the account, before any particular tread-wheels can be fairly condemned or praised.

From these considerations it will appear, that unless in the very nature of the punishment there be something degrading or unhealthy, it is idle to declaim against the tread-wheel simply as too severe and oppressive a punishment. Now, however it may mortify and humiliate, we are at a loss to understand how it can be said to degrade in the offensive sense, in which it is here used; and upon the point of health, the most satisfactory assurances are received from

* Thoughts on the Criminal Prisons, &c. p. 62.

the prisons in every part of the kingdom;* the publication to which we last alluded contains reports from thirty-six tread-wheels, in not one of which has the slightest injury appeared to be produced by this labour, though in some it is sufficiently severe, and the general tendency of the returns is to show that it is decidedly beneficial to the health of the prisoners. Common sense would lead us to the same conclusion; for there is nothing unnatural or painful in the position of the body on the wheel, and the simple act of ascending stairs, which we all know to be very wearisome, we also know to be in itself productive of no ill effect. The tread-wheel may undoubtedly be made an instrument of oppression and cruelty; but what kind of hard labour can be devised entirely free from this objection? The real question therefore is, whether it is an instrument in itself more likely to be abused than any other. We think quite the contrary, because there is none in which the quantity of labour performed can be calculated with such mathematical precision, and so easily reduced or increased as circumstances may require. Indeed this is one of its great and peculiar excellencies as a mode of punishment, that by an instrument of simple mechanism attached to the wheel, the governor may know every hour and every day the number of steps made by every prisoner, and a register may be kept for the weekly or monthly inspection of the visiting justices.

Assuming then, as we have a right to do, that it will be used with discretion and humanity, we will state what we conceive to be its disadvantages and advantages. In the first place, it is inapplicable to prisoners under long confinements; there is in it at once so much irksomeness, sameness, and real fatigue, that, after subduing a stubborn spirit, we should be afraid, with long continuance, it might go on almost to stupify the intellect; for while the body labours, the mind is wholly unemployed. But even if this be thought an overstrained apprehension, it must be admitted that it not only teaches no trade or occupation by which a livelihood may afterwards be earned, but must in some measure render the parties less fit for manual labour by disuse of those parts and muscles of the body which are employed in handicraft trades. Making these deductions, of which the latter is capable of an answer when we limit the use of the tread-wheel to confinements of

* Sir J. C. Hippeley is angry with Mr. Peel for sending to inquire as to the effect of the tread-wheel 'only in those prisons wherein tread-wheels have been established'—it seems to us that it would have been extraordinary if he had sent elsewhere. He had already received from Sir John such information as his theory and reasoning, with limited experience, could afford; it was natural then, we think, to turn to the prisons where the 'gigantic and most complicated machine' was actually at work, to see whether the fact bore out the reasoning. If the result had been doubtful, and a committee been appointed, probably Sir John might have been requested to attend, but the general concurrence of the answers made that unnecessary.

a short duration, in which a trade could not be learned, nor the body lose its aptness for one to which it had been accustomed, the advantages seem to be, that the tread-wheel is labour indeed, dreaded in the prospect, irksome in endurance, and remembered with disgust; that it has never failed to subdue the most turbulent spirit; that, requiring no instruction, every man who can walk may be set upon it from the moment that his sentence is pronounced; that he cannot avoid his portion of labour, the wheel turning by weight and not by exertion; that the occupation is so unceasing that conversation between the prisoners is much restrained; that it may without injury be employed for many hours in the day, and with a very little expense, in the open air; that it affords great advantages for inspection, and thereby much facilitates the duties of the governor.

Under these impressions, and with these restrictions, we cannot but say that we shall be glad to hear of the erection of a tread-wheel in every considerable prison in the country; at the same time we entirely approve of the silence of the legislature on the subject. It is for parliament to lay down general principles of prison discipline, but it is wise to leave all the details to local magistrates; circumstances may make that inexpedient in one house of correction which is very desirable in another; of this the magistrates on the spot are by far the most proper judges—there may be strong and rooted opinions for or against particular modes of employment in different counties; and these should be humoured where the choice is between two nearly equal plans; for after all none will succeed without the co-operation of a willing magistracy—in them lies the true virtue of all systems; they must encourage, controul, and inspect; they must appoint efficient officers, uphold them, stimulate them and reward them—without this the best enactments will become a dead letter, and to induce this they must not be made mere instruments, but be entrusted with a sound and liberal discretion.

For these several purposes of security, punishment, and reformation, the law of England has provided four several places of confinement, the Common Gaol, the House of Correction, the Hulk, and the Penitentiary; of each of these we will give as concise an account as we are able, and offer in conclusion a very few remarks upon a question of great importance, and much present interest, that, we mean, now pending in respect of the Millbank Penitentiary.

The Common Gaol appears to have been the only prison known to the common law; and we need not except the subordinate prisons of limited jurisdictions; for although the keeping of them was entrusted as a franchise to lords of manors, or of towns, bishops, or corporations,

corporations, and they were familiarly called the prisons of such grantees, yet they were and are essentially king's prisons,* subject to the same control, under the same discipline, and intended for the same objects. Safe custody seems to have been the only purpose in view, a purpose not very tenderly pursued nor always very successfully, if we may judge on the one hand from the dicta and the cases in old books upon the cruelty of gaolers, and on the other from the frequent and severe provisions of the old law both common and statute against prison breaking. From the earliest times, the sheriff appears to have had the keeping and responsibility of the common gaol; statutes are to be found enforcing this in the time of Edward III., Henry VII. and William III.; and the provisions made at these different times were probably intended in the earlier instances to restrain improper grants of the custody to other persons than the sheriff, and in the latter to maintain his ancient authority, which might seem to have been broken in upon by the many enactments giving jurisdiction in the gaol to the justices of the peace. For certain purposes, and to a certain extent, the sheriff is still the keeper of the gaol, and so long as he is responsible for the bodies of debtors it is highly just that he should remain so. It is still the place to which all debtors in arrest or under execution must be sent, and long after the building of houses of correction, and so late as the sixth year of George I. it was the only place to which all accused criminals could be committed. The necessity of providing for the repairs and expenses of the building as well as for the sustenance of the prisoners has naturally led to enactments which have materially abridged the jurisdiction of the sheriff, it being thought but reasonable, that when the counties in a more precise manner were subjected to these burthens, the country gentlemen at sessions should have a power of regulating the disposal of their own money; and the moment that prison discipline became an object of interest to the public it could not fail to be obvious that such a matter was fitter to be entrusted to a permanent bench of magistrates than to a single man, the officer of the crown, remaining in office only for a year, and selected rather in respect of property than any other consideration. It is not easy to ascertain now precisely in what manner the repairs were formerly done; according to Lord Coke, in his comment on the statute *De franchigibus Prisonam*, 1 E. II. st. 2.† a prison, even where the keeping of it was granted to the lord of a liberty, was to be repaired at the public charge, but he specifies no particular mode. In William the Third's time provision was made for the purpose by a rate assessed by the Justices of the peace and levied in every hundred;

* Lord Coke's 2d Institute, p. 100, 589.

† Ibid, p. 589.

which

which mode has since been followed up by several successive statutes. Neither is it more clear *how* the poor prisoners were sustained, though, as we have intimated before, we think they were not expected to sustain themselves; indeed it would have been a sort of Egyptian mockery to require that of them for which it was in ordinary cases impossible that they should have the means. But an expression or two in some old statutes seems conclusive as to this; the statute of Westminster the second (13 Edward I.) in the eleventh chapter provides a remedy against receivers and accountants in arrear; they are to be thrown into gaol, the sheriff is to put them in irons, et in illâ prisonâ remaneant *de suo proprio viventes* quousque, &c. The seventh of James I. chap. 4. which we shall have to notice presently for another purpose, provides for the imprisonment of rogues and vagabonds in houses of correction established by that act, and setting them to work; and then specifies 'that they shall in no sort be chargeable to the country for any allowance, either at their bringing in or going forth, or during the time of their abode there, but shall have such and so much allowance as they shall deserve by their own labour and work.' These particular exclusions seem to show that in ordinary cases prisoners were entitled to relief of some sort; we know that their condition was however very deplorable; before the suppression of the monasteries much was probably done by their charity; after that, collections were made occasionally under authority from door to door and in churches on their behalf—individual charity, and the bequests of pious persons, and probably gifts from the successive sheriffs, in the manner still in use in the city of London, did the rest. Precarious as these modes were, they were probably found adequate according to the notions of the times; at least we can find no trace of a regular assessment till the 14th of Elizabeth, which we have already mentioned. The consequence of this and succeeding parliamentary regulations has been very much to intermingle the jurisdictions of the sheriff and the magistrates. Hence too it has happened that in some instances the gaol and house of correction form parts of the same building; still even where that is the case, a certain portion is marked out for the gaol, the sheriff is responsible for the security of the persons there confined; and we imagine it is to that place still to which all persons charged with more serious offences must be committed.

As the gaol is the prison of the sheriff, so the House of Correction may properly be called that of the justices of the peace; it is the creature of the statute law; and as the original object of it was the punishment and reformation of idle vagabonds by imprisonment and compulsory labour, the stock for which was to be provided at the expense of the county, and which it was supposed might be made

made adequate to their maintenance, it was natural to entrust the keeping and regulation of it to the justices. 'Many statutes (says Lord Coke in his comment on 7 James I. c. 4.) have been made for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars, but very few to find them work, and to enforce them thereunto.* The 39 Elizabeth, c. 4. directed the building of houses of correction in the several counties from time to time; but this not having been put in force, the 7 James I. c. 4. was passed, which may be considered the origin of this useful description of prisons. It compelled the magistrates under a pecuniary penalty, which their neglect of the former statute seemed to render necessary, to erect houses of correction in every county within a given time, and to provide them with 'mills, turns, cards, and such like necessarie implements to set the said rogues, or such other idle persons, at work; and it also gave them the power of appointing a governor and giving him a salary. It would be foreign to our purpose, or rather it would far exceed our limits, to follow down through the statute books the various enactments, which at different times have been passed for the regulation and improvement of houses of correction; the present prison bill has left little to desire upon this head, perhaps upon some points we could wish it to have spoken in a more decisive tone, and on some in clearer language; but an admirable spirit pervades the whole, and wherever our own experience has reached, we have seen the magistracy putting its enactments into force with great zeal and ability. The objects of this kind of prison should never be lost sight of,—they are punishment and correction, and therefore, so far as may be possible, we think persons should not be sent to it upon whom the measures necessary for these objects cannot be employed, the untried for example; or upon whom they would be tried in vain, as the convicts for enormous offences, or those who are only in the way to transportation; the character of the one, and the short stay of the other, leave little hope of doing them good, and it would be well therefore to prevent their harming others.

For persons under such circumstances the Hulks seem to present a more fitting place of confinement,—the history of this establishment is very clearly given in the Third Report from the Committee on the Laws relating to Penitentiary Houses. Perhaps it is not generally known that it was one of the fruits of the American war, which interrupted the transportation of convicts to the colonies and plantations in North America. By the 16 George III. c. 43. and the 19 George III. c. 74. hard labour upon the river Thames, or some other navigable river, port or harbour, was made a punish-

* 2d Institute, p. 728.

ment,

ment, to which male persons convicted of grand larceny, or any transportable offence, might be sentenced. It is somewhat curious that the same statute, drawn by or at least under the direction of Sir William Blackstone and Mr. Eden, and with the entire concurrence of the immortal Howard, should have extended the hulk system and provided that of penitentiaries; for nothing can seem more opposed than the one to the other; classification, solitary confinement, inspection, and instruction, being the characteristics of the one, and almost impossible in the other. Both these acts, however, at least so much of them as relates to this point, have long since expired, and with them confinement on board the hulks ceased as a specific punishment; offenders are now confined there merely temporarily in their way to transportation. Many, it is true, of those who are sent on board never proceed farther, but they all go there under the sentence of transportation, or having agreed to be transported in commutation of a sentence of death. It is usual, we believe, in selecting the proper objects upon whom to carry the sentence of transportation into execution, to take first those who are transportable for life, then those for fourteen years; and few of those sentenced for seven years only are actually sent, unless, by the reports of the judges who have tried them, they appear to be peculiarly unfit to remain in this country. In this age of prison improvements, the hulks have had, we believe, their full share of amendment; there is an economy about their fitting up when compared with the erection of a prison on shore, an advantage in their capability of removal from place to place, and a profit derived from the labour of the convicts, which will probably render their use permanent; but we confess we have no desire to see it extended, for with every imaginable improvement it seems impossible to subject an offender on board a hulk to the same moral discipline which may be exercised on him in a well regulated prison on shore. Two things strike us as worthy of consideration; the first, whether it might not be desirable to revive the hulks as a specific punishment, and to forbear pronouncing sentence of transportation in the large number of cases in which it is never intended to be carried into effect; the second, whether at all events a separation should not be made between those who are to be transported and those who are not. It must be presumed that the former are of a more abandoned or more desperate class than the latter, and certainly these last might, from the duration of their confinement, be properly put under a course of discipline, which it would be in vain to attempt upon men who have no hopes of bettering their condition by amendment, and who are in daily expectation of being removed to another hemisphere.

The Penitentiary system in England is, like that of the hulks, a

substitution only for what is deemed a severer sentence. *Howard was the original author of it; it was one most potent instrument by which he hoped to effect his great design of the reformation of offenders, and the gradual diminution of capital punishments; and the 19th Geo. III. c. 74. framed according to his suggestions, was passed in order to give it effect. This statute goes very much into detail as to the regulations of the intended penitentiaries, and, in addition to labour of the hardest and most servile description, it enjoined the then novel discipline of solitary confinement. The prisoners were to be lodged in separate cells during their hours of rest, and to be kept apart from each other during their hours of labour, in all cases where the nature of their several employments would permit it, and where that was impossible, and two or more were obliged to work together, an officer was to be present, and observe their behaviour. What Sir William Blackstone thought of this plan, is well known from a remarkable passage in his Commentaries. 'In forming the plan,' says he, 'of these penitentiary houses, the principal objects have been, by sobriety, cleanliness, and medical assistance; by a regular series of labour; by solitary confinement during the intervals of work, and by due religious instruction, to preserve and amend the health of the unhappy offenders; to enure them to habits of industry; to guard them from pernicious company; to accustom them to serious reflection, and to teach them both the principles and practice of every Christian and moral duty. And if the whole of this plan be properly executed, and its defects be timely supplied, there is reason to hope that such a reformation may be effected in the lower classes of mankind, and such a gradual scale of punishment be affixed to all gradations of guilt, as may in time supersede the necessity of capital punishment, except for very atrocious crimes.'—4 *Comment.* 371.

By the act the King was to appoint three supervisors for the purpose of procuring the necessary ground, and making contracts for the buildings. Howard, his friend Dr. Fothergill, and Mr. Whalley, were the persons appointed; and no one can doubt of their real anxiety to carry the intentions of the legislature into full effect, and without delay; but, unfortunately, difficulties and differences arose in the choice of the ground—Mr. Howard wishing to place the buildings at Islington; Mr. Whalley preferring a spot at Limehouse: the result was, that the former resigned his

* See the 19 Geo. III. c. 74. 34 Geo. III. c. 84. 52 Geo. III. c. 84. 56 Geo. III. c. 63. and 59 Geo. III. c. 136. First Report of the Committee on the Laws Relating to Penitentiary Houses.—Report on the Penitentiary at Millbank.—Mr. Roscoe's two Works.—For facts not to be found in these authorities, we have been indebted to other communications which we believe to be perfectly authentic.

situation,

situation, in 1781, and his colleagues, we believe, soon after followed his example. This was, undoubtedly, a great blow upon the experiment: new supervisors, however, were appointed, Sir Gilbert Elliott, (Lord Minto) Sir Charles Bunbury, and Mr. Bowdler; and they fixed on a spot of ground, as fit for their purpose, at Battersea Rise, the value of which was ascertained under the Act by a jury, but it was never purchased, and the whole design seemed for the time to be abandoned. We believe that this was about the era of the first transportations to Botany Bay; and the government, intent upon this new scheme, were unwilling to encourage any other that might seem to interfere with it.

On a limited scale, however, the experiment was made in Gloucestershire: in 1781 a private bill was passed for the erection of a Penitentiary at Gloucester, which was opened for the reception of prisoners, in July, 1791, under the auspices of Sir George Paul. The discipline of this prison was at first settled in exact conformity to that prescribed by the 19 Geo. III. c. 74; some variations were introduced afterwards, which experience had suggested, variations, however, which did not affect the principle. In 1811, when the same zealous and intelligent magistrate was examined before the Committee of the House of Commons, on the moral effect of the system over which he had then been watching for twenty years, his answer was very satisfactory, yet qualified by such candid admissions, and strengthened by such reasonable observations to account for the result, as make our minds feel confident in the fairness of his statement.

‘Whilst I acknowledge, regarding the whole of the system of imprisonment, that, like other ardent theorists, I imagined more than has been, or than, perhaps, could be brought into practice and effect, I am sure I am justified in saying, that the Penitentiary House has succeeded in its effects beyond the theory imagined by the original projectors of the system—far, indeed, beyond my most sanguine expectations. A long experience has proved beyond a possibility of doubt, that a government by rule, mild, but strictly adhered to, is sufficient to ensure safe custody, and to preserve authority, without having recourse to fettering the limbs, or to indictive punishments.’—*First Report*, p. 29.

In 1793 or 1794, Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon attracted a good deal of attention; Sir William Blackstone and Mr. Eden again interested themselves in the subject, and the 34 Geo. III. c. 60. was passed; under this act fifty-three acres in Tothill Fields were purchased for £12,000, and conveyed to Mr. Bentham, and he also received £2,000 from the Treasury, to enable him to make preparations. It can hardly be doubted that Sir William Blackstone and Mr. Eden, in coming forward at this time, thought they were advancing their favourite design of a Penitentiary, but in

truth, the statutes of the 19 and 34 Geo. III. were totally inconsistent with each other; the Panopticon was not only not a Penitentiary, but its principle was directly opposed to it. It was fortunate for the country, that this also fell to the ground; we do not desire to go out of our way to say any thing harsh of Mr. Bentham as the inventor of a prison system, and we by no means intend to insinuate that he dealt with the Government on illiberal terms; but his scheme appears to us to have been wholly visionary—to have been without any proper checks or lasting securities, relying solely on his own personal character, abilities, and responsibility, and addressing itself to the reformation of criminals upon principles unsound and unphilosophical. If it had been tried it could not have succeeded, and, in its ill-success, might have ruined, or at least indefinitely retarded the progress of the great cause of Prison Improvement.

In 1802, so much of the 19 Geo. III. as related to penitentiaries had expired; but Sir Samuel Romilly, in 1811, treating it as an existing act, moved the House of Commons to address the crown to carry it and the 34 Geo. III. into effect. A committee was accordingly appointed, the general result of whose report was a recommendation to revert to the system of the Penitentiary, and to terminate the engagement with Mr. Bentham. In pursuance of this, Mr. Holford, who had been the chairman of the committee, introduced into the house the 52 Geo. III. c. 44; and the ground which had been conveyed to Mr. Bentham was now transferred to Government; and Mr. Holford, Sir Charles Long, and the Reverend John Becher, the active and intelligent inspector of the House of Correction at Southwell, were appointed supervisors for the erection of a Penitentiary. The work now proceeded in good earnest, and in June, 1816, a part of the building was opened for the reception of convicts. In the same year, and in 1819, acts of parliament were passed, introducing amendments in the system, but not varying its principles; under these acts it is that the Penitentiary is now regulated.

By the constitution of the Millbank Penitentiary, the controuling management is vested in an unpaid committee of persons, moving rather in the higher classes of life; they make all the rules and regulations for the government and good order of the prisoners, direct the nature of their employment, and inspect them from time to time; they settle all contracts, and examine accounts; they appoint, suspend, or remove all the officers and servants of the establishment. Their ordinary meetings are monthly, and they appoint one or more of their number during the interval, whose duty it is to visit the prison from time to time, and exert such powers on emergency as would have been exercised by the committee, if sitting.

ting. Under them, and immediately employed in the management, are a governor, matron, surgeon, master manufacturer, with the usual subordinate turnkeys and taskmasters: a chaplain, constantly resident within the walls, a medical superintendent, who visits twice a week regularly, and daily if necessary, and a consulting surgeon complete the establishment.

We have before observed that imprisonment in the Penitentiary is a substituted punishment; those who have been capitally convicted are imprisoned for ten years; those who have been sentenced to transportation for fourteen and seven years respectively, are confined for seven and five years. In all cases, the committee are empowered to recommend a prisoner who conducts himself particularly well, to the royal mercy, and such a recommendation will assuredly never be unattended to; but it cannot fail to strike every one that there is a great disproportion between the commutation of punishment in the two last cases. The reason assigned for this, is an opinion, sanctioned, or first pronounced by Howard, that no penitentiary imprisonment could be availing for its object in less than five years. With all our veneration for that great name, we cannot but doubt the justice of this opinion, especially when it is applied to the class of offenders who are commonly sentenced to transportation for seven years, and sent to the Penitentiary by way of commutation. The offence itself, which has been visited with that sentence, is probably not one of the last enormity, and the commutation implies that there appeared some circumstances on the trial of the case, either in the temptation to commit, the manner of committing, the years, education, or circumstances of the culprit, which led to the belief that he was not a hardened and irreclaimable offender. Long imprisonments are, at all times, attended with unavoidable evils of their own—and in such breasts hope of reunion with society should not be too heavily borne down; the links that bind to the world should not be irretrievably severed; and yet the thought of five years of such a life as we are now about to describe, is almost too heavy a burden for one who, perhaps, has never been accustomed to carry his ideas beyond the setting of the sun over his head.

For five days after his entrance into the prison, the convict is placed in a solitary cell, without work or amusement of any kind: in this interval no one has access to him but the chaplain, the governor, and the turnkey, who is in attendance on him; and they are directed, as far as possible, to avoid speaking to him. Some effect may reasonably be hoped from this forcing of the mind to consider what it is which has caused his imprisonment; but except as a punishment for refractoriness, this is the only strictly solitary confinement to which he is subject during his imprisonment.

ment. At the end of these days, he is placed in the first class, and commences a life of seclusion, which is to last for the first half of his imprisonment, unless his good behaviour produces his earlier removal to the second. While in this first class, he inhabits a separate cell, in which he works alone by day, and sleeps alone at night; when he is advanced to the second, he passes his working hours in a larger cell with two or three other prisoners. In the first class it is not absolute solitude, because the cells are closed with a trelliced door only in the day time; the prisoner is occasionally visited by the wardman, or his instructor; he stands at his door at certain times to hear the Scriptures read; he occasionally comes out to school; and walks in the yard, or labours at the mill or pump daily, in company with others. Neither in the second is it unrestrained society; the conversation in the working cells is only permitted in a low tone of voice; no amusements are allowed, and silence, under all circumstances, is enforced as much as possible. It appears, too, that very early at all seasons of the year, the prisoners of both classes are locked up for the night, and we believe that no candles are allowed; so that, after sunset, there is nothing to occupy or divert the thoughts.

The distinguishing feature of this system (for we have no room to enter into its details) is the greater use which is made of solitary confinement in this modified way as discipline and not punishment. Taken from his course of vice, separated from his profligate companions, and even from his respectable friends, instructed in his duty, perhaps for the first time, by the assiduous kindness of the chaplain, and passing his time either in a forced inactivity and silence, or in sober sedentary employments, such as those of the tailor, shoemaker, or weaver, it is hoped that his mind cannot but turn in upon itself, and it is believed that the materials are given to make reflection profitable. There is no appearance of severity, none of merely compulsory discipline; at the same time the prison is not made a place of ease and comfort; every thing is done in the first instance to make the individual feel that he has degraded himself in society, and that he must go through suffering and restraint before he can rise to his former level; but hope of restoration is never withheld from him; when he is placed in the first class, he is told that good behaviour will shorten his stay there and raise him to the second; when placed in the second, he is also told that the Committee may, if they think fit, recommend him as a proper object for pardon, and that diligence and obedience, with respectful attention to the chaplain's advice, can alone induce them to do so. Independently of these encouragements, good behaviour is rewarded by promotion to the inferior offices in the prison; one-eighth of the produce of the prisoner's labour is reserved for him till his discharge; at which time

time he also receives decent clothing, and a gratuity in money or tools not exceeding three pounds, and if at the end of one year from his discharge he produces such evidence of his good behaviour as satisfies the committee, he will receive a further gratuity not exceeding three pounds.

We should but trifle unworthily with a great and difficult subject, if within the narrow limits which remain to us, we were to attempt to discuss generally the merits of the penitentiary system. In this country it is indeed practically useless to discuss them, for it is enough *here* to say that it is an experiment not fully tried, for which the balance of argument *à priori* is decidedly favourable; and to such an experiment under the circumstances of England, with a population increasing in numbers and artificial wants, with all the temptations to vice multiplying themselves infinitely, our prisons full, and our places of transportation having received nearly their complement, we are at least bound to give a full and fair trial.

In America the most complete disappointment has succeeded to a short-lived success; nothing can be more melancholy than the pictures drawn by the inspectors of different and far-famed penitentiaries in their reports to the provincial legislatures; they are described as having become 'schools of vice;' as ending 'in general ruin;' as increasing the 'propensity to vice;' as inculcating 'lessons of infamy.' And we find general admissions 'that penitentiary punishments have entirely failed of producing the results originally anticipated from them, and that crimes have multiplied to an alarming degree.*' But these reports ought not to discourage us, because the same reports uniformly attribute the evil to an obvious and avoidable cause, the rapidly increasing population, which has so overstocked the prisons that all their regulations for discipline and classification are entirely and necessarily at an end. When Sir George Paul spoke of the good success of the Gloucester penitentiary, he accompanied his answer with this observation, which accords exactly with American experience—'if we had been compelled to receive *all* persons convicted of larceny and other great crimes, as an alternative punishment for transportation, I think it more than probable that we should not have reformed a man.'† This evil may be guarded against in a penitentiary, though it might be difficult wholly to avoid it in a gaol, or house of correction; the Millbank prison at least will never be overstocked; and, not to rely on the testimony of advocates, whom partiality for the institution might make suspicious vouchers, it is something to say, that in the six years from December, 1816, to December, 1822, out of seventy-eight convicts whose terms of imprisonment expired (there-

* See Roscoe's Two Essays, *passim*.

† 1st Report, p. 30.

fore not particularly favourable specimens) and one hundred and fifty who were pardoned, forty-nine have actually received gratuities for good conduct for twelve months after their leaving the institution.* Not that we would decide the question by individual instances, nor indeed do we think that there are as yet materials for deciding it at all; some may say that this is but a small harvest to reap at such cost and labour, and others may be provided with a larger number of instances where the result has been unfortunate. The objection and the fact may both be true; still it seems to us enough to say that the experiment is of such vast importance, and so full of blessing if it should succeed, that it behoves us to give it a fairer and a fuller trial, than the time has yet allowed it to have in this country—there are many grounds on which success may be hoped for; there is none, that we are aware of, which concludes against it.

For it should never be lost sight of, that the Millbank prison is not conclusive as to the penitentiary system; there may be solid objections to some peculiarities of the discipline there, to the costliness, or the situation of that establishment, but they are entirely beside the merits of the general question. They may serve to increase the prejudices of those who oppose the system, and to damp the hopes of its friends, but in reality as to these points the question must be argued as if the Millbank prison had never been built. We deem it right to set down this caution before we enter upon what is, in itself, a most important consideration, the future fate of that establishment. It has been stated that the Millbank prison was opened for the reception of prisoners in June, 1816; in the course of that year 72 convicts, all females, were admitted, and as the different parts of the building were completed, the numbers continually increased; at the close of the year 1822 it contained 779 males and females, and when the committee of the House of Commons visited it in the spring of 1823 they found in it 869 prisoners. Nor was this the total of the population; the system of labour and inspection requires a numerous body of officers, and the governor, chaplain, and surgeon reside with their families within the walls, and these all together amounted to 106. It is clear, from the most unsuspicious testimony, that this large body of persons was believed to be perfectly healthy almost to the close, if not entirely so, of the year 1822, by all those whose duty it was to watch over their health, who would have anxiously attended to any unhealthy symptoms, and to whom, in the common course of things, complaint would have been immediately made, if cause for it had existed. The prevalent tendency to disorder had been that of fulness of habit, and

* See Penitentiary Report, p. 599.

at an earlier period it became the opinion as well of the committee, as of the medical officers, that a reduction of the diet was expedient. If in a medical point of view a reduction was only *safe*, it is clear that in a moral point of view it was highly proper—it was also for the interest of an infant establishment to make such a change, for there was a very general feeling both in and out of parliament that the prisoners had too many comforts—and there was even an intimation that the annual vote for the expenses would be opposed on that ground. The committee, however, proceeded with all the caution which such a measure required; they called for the opinions of their medical officers, and upon the superintendent's (Dr. Hutchison) requesting the assistance of distinguished men in his profession, Sir James M'Grigor, the head of the Army Medical Board, was desired to inspect the prisoners minutely, and give his opinion upon the proposed change of the diet, and the nature of it. He did so, and finally a course of diet was adopted, to which Sir James saw no objection, and which, it was believed, Dr. Hutchison thought might be safely tried. There was strong authority for it; it was proposed by Mr. Morton Pitt after a trial of it for fourteen years in Dorchester gaol, where during all that time, to use his own words, it had appeared to be 'an exceedingly salubrious diet.' To inexperienced persons like ourselves there appears to be an insufficiency on the face of it; the only portion of animal food in the whole was a single ox-head boiled in soup for 100 males, and the same for 120 females per diem; but prison diet is so purely a question of experience that no one can impute the slightest blame to those who adopted it as sufficient under such recommendation and authority. It was put in practice early in July 1822; in the autumn the prisoners appeared to lose something of their former plumpness and strength, and to labour under languor and depression of spirits; but there was no indication of any peculiar disease; and something might be reasonably expected from a change which was disagreeable to the prisoners. The winter was unusually severe, and it appears that the state of the prisoners began to excite some uneasiness early in January, 1823. On the 8th of February the house surgeon, in his regular report, communicated to the committee the existence of scurvy. Upon this Sir James M'Grigor was again requested to inspect the prison, and 'state his opinion of the effects of the dietary.' In describing the situation in which, upon this occasion, he found the prisoners, he says, that 'he cannot say that they were then in a state of sickness, they were of less size, particularly the females, than they had been, when he saw them before;—' that their situation was precisely the same that it was on his two former visits, when he gave a great deal of time and attention to it,'—And even so late as the end of March,

March, when he visited them again, he says that 'he saw very little of severe disease; they were all cases, which if he had seen in an army hospital, he should have said they were people that had very little disease about them.' On the 17th of February he made the following report—'Having seen the whole of the female, and many of the male prisoners, I found that they were not in an unhealthy state. From a minute inspection of the prisoners in the infirmaries, I ascertained that while the proportion of sick was small for the season, their diseases were not, but in very few instances, of a serious character, and not attributable to diet or confinement.'

We cite this evidence, not for the purpose of imputing inattention or ignorance to Sir James, who was undoubtedly mistaken; but for the purpose of inferring, that if a practitioner of his skill and experience was deceived by the very insidious nature of the disorder, and even at that time was not induced to attribute any evil effect to the change of diet, or the habits of life of the prisoners, the committee may well stand excused that the epidemic was not sooner arrested in its progress. Sir James's report was laid before the committee at their next meeting, but the few days that had elapsed between the 17th and 22d had materially changed the face of things; many more cases of disease, and two deaths had occurred. It was now thought necessary to add strength to the medical attendants, and Dr. Mere Latham and Dr. Roget were called in, and requested to undertake the examination of the prisoners. On the 1st of March they commenced their labours, and according to a very able report afterwards presented by them, they found 'the prevailing disease to be the same with that which is known by the name of the sea-scurvy, and which is characterized by livid spots or blotches of the skin, especially on the lower extremities. Conjoined with the scurvy, in almost every case, there was diarrhoea or dysentery. There were, indeed, a few instances of scurvy without disorder of the bowels, and moreover numerous instances occurred of diarrhoea and dysentery where no marks of scurvy had appeared. But still, whether the scurvy subsisted alone, or the diarrhoea and dysentery subsisted alone, or whether they were conjoined in the same individuals, there was found in all those who suffered from either or from both, the same constitutional derangement, denoted by a sallow countenance, an impaired digestion, diminished muscular strength, a feeble circulation, various degrees of nervous affection, as tremors, cramps, or spasms, and various degrees of mental despondency.*

Out of 858 prisoners, 448 were at this time affected in a greater or less degree, in one or other, or all of the forms of the disease;

* Pen. Report, p. 388.

the women were more affected than the men, and of both sexes those who were in the second class, and therefore had been longer in confinement, were more numerously disordered than in the first; not a single officer or servant, or any one of their families, was affected; and of twenty-four second class prisoners employed in the kitchen, all were free from the disease but three, who had been promoted to their employment there within four days.

In the month of March eleven deaths took place; of these it appears, from the evidence taken before the coroner, that four only can with certainty be attributed to the epidemic; but the public attention was so drawn to the state of the prison, that a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the matter, which continued to sit and hear evidence for nearly seven weeks; no less than fifteen medical gentlemen were examined as to the nature and cause of the disorder, as well as the proper mode of treating it; upon all which points, as might be expected, a great difference of opinion prevailed. After the committee had made its report, as the state and number of the sick fluctuated extremely, (it being one of the most distressing circumstances attending the disorder, that those who seemed to be recovered were perpetually relapsing,) three additional physicians were called in at the request of Dr. M. Latham and Dr. Roget, to share the heavy burthen; they were nominated by the College, and were Doctors Hue, Mac-michael, and Southey; a removal from the prison of those who were most affected was deemed expedient, and by degrees the whole number of prisoners were transferred to the Ophthalmic Hospital in the Regent's Park, or to hulks on the river specially provided for the purpose. Some remarkable circumstances have been stated to us connected with these removals; it is said that in several instances new turnkeys, who had never been in the Penitentiary, were affected with the disorder in the Regent's Park, and that the prisoners who were removed thither, into one of the healthiest and most airy spots round the metropolis, recovered so slowly and relapsed so frequently, that it was at last thought expedient to carry them also to the hulks, where it was found that the disorder was the most speedily and most effectually overcome.*

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* The term 'overcome' is even now, perhaps, stronger than we are authorized in using; for though no death has occurred from the disease since August last, yet a large proportion of prisoners still suffer short and slight relapses. Many, perhaps, feign sickness, in the hope of a pardon. His Majesty has already remitted a portion of the sentence of all the prisoners, in the following proportions—two years from ten, one and a half from seven, and one from five. Early in the present session of parliament it was determined that the male convicts who had been removed to the hulks should remain there permanently during their respective terms of imprisonment, and the 5 G. IV. c. 19. was passed for that purpose, which places them for the future under the management of the superintendant and overseers of the hulks. We do not find that any permanent

We have detailed this evidence with some minuteness, because the question of re-peopling the prison must be determined by the conclusion which is to be drawn from it as to the cause of the epidemic. Five different sources have been assigned: the change of diet, the length of confinement, the depressing nature of the system of discipline, the severity of the winter, and the low situation of the prison. If the last be the sole or most efficient cause, and the bad influence of it cannot be counteracted by measures in themselves free from objection, then, however it may be to be deplored, the only conclusion to which an honest and humane government can come, will be the abandonment of the prison as a penitentiary.

In an inquiry of this nature, it is natural, in the first place, to turn our attention to the opinions of the medical men who were employed, and who by an anxious attention during many months to every circumstance and symptom which could assist their judgment in the treatment of the disorder, were likely to obtain a number of premises, whereupon to found some satisfactory conclusion. Dr. Latham and Dr. Roget appear to us throughout to have been actuated by so much zeal and patient industry; and yet to be so free from systematizing, that we should have followed their guidance with great confidence. It appears, however, that they have by no means made up their own minds on the subject; and it is remarkable, and should teach us a lesson of caution in forming our opinions, that longer time, more facts, and more anxious examination have only served to make them more doubtful of their own impressions. In their first report, which we have already quoted, they attribute the disease, with some confidence, to the united effects of the diet and the weather. They state their opinion thus:

‘In inquiring into the causes of the disease in question we think it right to state our persuasion that the situation of the prison has not contributed to its production. First, because if this had been the case, it is reasonable to suppose that the same disease would have occurred in former years; whereas it has never appeared until the present winter. Secondly, had this been the case, the officers of the prison being equally obnoxious with the prisoners to any injurious influence of situation, could not have been universally exempt, as it appears they have been, from the same disease. Thirdly, because, if the situation of the prison be injurious, it must be presumed to be so in consequence of marsh miasmata arising in its neighbourhood; yet since its establishment the prison has been altogether free from those diseases, which marsh mias-

manent arrangement has been made in respect of the females; probably they will never return to Millbank. No inference, we think, can fairly be drawn from this statute with respect to the intentions of government as to the ultimate re-opening of the Millbank; for at all events it would have been highly inexpedient that the same individuals who had once been removed on account of the malady, should be replaced in the prison.

mal

mata confessedly engender. Fourthly, because marsh miasmata always arise during the hot, and never during the cold seasons of the year, and the diseases which they engender belong to the same seasons. Lastly, because although scurvy and dysentery have undoubtedly been found prevalent in marshy districts, yet when marsh miasmata have produced them, they have been associated with intermittent fevers, and have occurred only at the hot seasons of the year. It may possibly be suspected that the simple dampness of the situation may have contributed something to the disease. But we can state with confidence that every part of the prison is singularly dry, and that in no cell or passage, on no floor or ceiling, or wall of the prison have we found the smallest stain or appearance of moisture.

Several circumstances respecting the disease in question, which have been already mentioned, seemed to limit the causes of its production to such as could have had their operation exclusively upon the prisoners, and especially at the present season, and now for the first time. One such cause is found, we conceive, in the diet of the prison. During the last eight months the diet was different from what it had been ever since its establishment. The change which took place in July last, reduced the animal part of the diet almost to nothing. In a soup made of peas, or barley, ox-heads were boiled in the proportion of one ox-head to 100 male, and one to 120 female prisoners; and we found upon inquiry that the meat of one ox-head weighed upon an average eight pounds, which being divided among a hundred allows only an ounce and a quarter for each prisoner. This new diet had been continued until the present time; and to it we mainly ascribe the production of the disease in question.

It does nevertheless appear to us, that the diet of the prison has not itself alone been productive of the disease, but that it required the concurrence of other causes, of which the severity of the winter was probably the chief. The origin of the disease has been traced to the commencement of the cold weather, and its progress and increase have kept pace with it. There are moreover two circumstances which confirm us in the belief that diet and cold have been concurrent causes. The sufferers were most numerous in that class of prisoners which was most exposed to the influence of cold, from the lower temperature of the cells in which they pass the night, showing that where both causes most conspicuously concurred, the disease was most extensively produced. Yet those individuals of that class, who sleeping in the same cells, and exposed to the same low temperature by night, were employed in the kitchen by day, and had access to richer diet, were universally exempt; shewing that where one cause was withdrawn, the other was of itself inadequate to produce the disease.—*Penitentiary Report*, Appendix E. p. 389.

Thus clearly and ably did these gentlemen reason in April; but in July, they presented another report, in which they say—

‘Unquestionably we do believe, that some *injurious influence* has been in operation, over and above the causes to which the epidemic

was originally imputed. This injurious influence may have been present from the first, or it may have been subsequently superadded. Whatever it be, it has hitherto eluded our detection, and whether it is, or is not in operation at present, we cannot tell.—*Penitentiary Report, Appendix E. p. 394.*

We give them great credit for the candid manner in which they retrace their steps, and acknowledge their inability to assign satisfactorily the cause of the disease. It has been said, that the new facts to which they allude should have led them to an obvious conclusion, that the disease was contagious or infectious. We confess we do not see, how that admission would have advanced them a step nearer to the origin of the disorder; but the answer is very obvious—the whole doctrine of contagion and infection is so little understood, that he must be a rash theorist who will venture, from any two or three facts, however apparently strong, to assert their existence. Upon this point, however, they express themselves thus:

‘Numerous cases in the Penitentiary, to which we have already alluded, have seemed to us quite inexplicable except upon the presumption of contagion. The fact may be otherwise; and authorities we are aware preponderate against the contagious nature of dysentery; nevertheless we have not thought ourselves justified in neglecting the practical measures, which the facts before us appeared to suggest, until medical opinion is settled upon this point.’—*ibid. p. 395.*

Though the names of Dr. Latham and Dr. Roget only are annexed to this report, they being indeed, at the time of presenting it, the only physicians in attendance, we think we may infer that, at least so far as this point goes, it speaks the sentiments of the three other distinguished practitioners, whom we have mentioned as latterly associated with them; it is probable, that if any difference of opinion prevailed on this point, or if any one of them had satisfactorily elucidated this difficult question, it would have been communicated in some shape or other so as to have reached us. But this has not been the case, and the physicians thus supplying us only with useful facts, and drawing no inference for us authoritatively, we should next look to the Parliamentary Report, which confidently negatives the influence of situation, and attributes the disease mainly to the new diet, p. 8. But this opinion professes to be in concurrence with the opinion of all the medical men examined, except Sir James M'Grigor, and the report makes no mention of the last cited medical report of Dr. Latham and Dr. Roget; it was therefore drawn up before that report had been presented, and its authority is very much shaken by this circumstance. The reasoning too upon which it is founded, only proves

proves that the situation alone could not have produced the disease.

Under such circumstances it would be presumptuous in us to express a positive opinion; yet to a certain extent we think we are safe in drawing negative conclusions. Diet alone could not have been the cause, because at Dorchester the same diet had been successfully used for fourteen years; in the Devizes new prison for two years the prisoners have been very healthy on a diet wholly vegetable; at Millbank too, though they who lived more generously did not suffer at first, the disorder extended afterwards to them. The cold alone could not have occasioned the disease, because the same cold did not produce the same effect upon whole classes of people, who fared much more hardly in this respect; the prison too is well warmed, and the carpenters work remarkably weather-tight. We cannot perhaps so easily assign conclusive answers to the sole operation of long confinement, or melancholy system of life, because the effects of these cannot be so precisely ascertained; but it could not upon that theory be very satisfactorily explained, why these causes should produce so general an effect at one moment, rather than at another—we do not understand that there was any prevalent lowness of spirits, previous to the disorder breaking out; besides there are no instances of similar effects being produced in France, where the terms of imprisonment are often much longer, nor in America, where the solitude is much more severe and unbroken. Lastly, to the situation alone it is impossible to ascribe the disease, for it did not spread beyond the prison into the immediate vicinity, where all and more than all, the same local influences must have been in full action.

But what neither of these causes alone may have been able to produce, a concurrence of some or all may have occasioned; that moral causes operate strongly to the propagation and continuation of scurvy, the histories of all voyages bear ample testimony; and the fact that the second class of prisoners, and the females, were the first to be affected, is strong confirmation of this supposition; that exposure to severity of weather and lowness of diet have the same tendency no one can doubt; that the situation is one of peculiar healthiness, such as to repel these tendencies, no one can believe. Probably any four of the causes might have concurred, and, without the other, might have been innocuous; had the term of confinement been short, or had the manner of living been more cheerful, active, and out of doors—had the winter been less severe—had the situation been loftier—had the diet remained full and generous—in any one of these contingencies the disorder might never have made its appearance, or never gained that immense force and enduring hold which it unfortunately acquired. The causes which came last were

were the immediate and propelling agents, the others had prepared the subject matter to receive the impulse.

If this reasoning be just, there can be no difficulty in the practical conclusion to which we ought to come: of these causes some may be removed entirely, some in part; and at all events their concurrence may be prevented; there will be then no reason to apprehend the unhealthiness of the prison; and if so, there will be no reason why an institution so perfect in many respects, so promising in others, should be abandoned. The course of diet must be recast; it need not be restored to that excess, which induced plethora, and made the prisoners wasteful and fastidious; it were better far to give up the place as a Penitentiary, and turn it into a House of Correction for shorter confinements, than to make it a place for pampering those who ought to suffer severe privations and mortifications. But it must certainly be made more solid and nutritious than the Dorchester or Devizes fare; at the same time more air should be introduced into the yards by throwing down walls; the occupations of the prisoners should be made less sedentary, their times of exercise and labour much extended, and we cannot but think the duration of their imprisonment might be somewhat curtailed. We really believe it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in any situation or under any circumstances, or with any diet, to keep a body of prisoners in good health, who should understand that for seven or ten years they were to be confined, and lead such a life as was prescribed in the Penitentiary.

We here close our remarks, which have run to so great a length as to preclude us from adding to them by any recapitulation; we are well aware that they contain a feeble and imperfect, and yet perhaps not an useless summary of the great improvements that have been made, and the liberal views that have gained ground in this country upon every thing connected with prisons within a few years. As to the question of the Penitentiary at Millbank, when it shall again become the subject of parliamentary examination,* we are satisfied that it will be handled with that candour and patience, that freedom from prejudice, and that common sense, which so honourably distinguish the proceedings of the House of Commons upon all subjects calmly and seriously brought before them. Whatever be the result, we shall be sincerely rejoiced, if our examination should have the effect in any degree of preparing the minds of individuals for the discussion.

* A committee has been formed for reconsidering the subject, which has examined evidence, and closed its sittings, but circumstances have prevented the presenting of its report hitherto. Upon the nature of that report, and the probable measures of government in consequence, we deem it therefore becoming in us to say nothing at present.—*June 6th.*

- ART. VII.—1. *Travels to Chile, over the Andes, in the Years 1820 and 1821.* By Peter Schmidtmeier. 4to.
 2. *Journal of a Residence in Chili during the Year 1822, and a Voyage from Chili to Brasil in 1823.* By Maria Graham. 1 vol. 4to.
 3. *Extracts from a Journal written on the Coasts of Chile, Peru, and Mexico, in the Years 1820, 1821 and 1822.* By Captain Basil Hall, R.N. 2 vols. 12mo.

OF all the territories of the southern division of America formerly subject to Spain, Chili has been the least explored by foreigners. Its shores have been visited, its ports examined, and its maritime towns described by many of our own countrymen, as well as others, who were either engaged in discoveries or occupied in voyages of commerce; and who, relating what they were told rather than what they saw, have raised most extravagant ideas of the fertility, wealth, populousness and civilization of the interior. The language of Spain is naturally bombastic when literally translated; for though its most swelling phrases convey to the natives no more lofty ideas than the simpler expressions of other nations, yet when transferred, by those who are not accurately acquainted with the conventional force of the words, into any other tongue, they produce generally exaggerated, and often very erroneous, representations. In this way those who have visited merely the shores of the Pacific Ocean have imbibed ideas of the progress made by Peru and Chili in the different branches of civilization, which far exceed the picture exhibited by such as have accurately observed their internal condition.

From the time of Ovalle, who published his work in 1645, to that of Molina, who completed his history about forty years ago from notes taken long before in that country, no writer had furnished means for estimating the progress which Chili had made towards civilization during the intervening period. Vidaurre, like his predecessors, Ovalle and Molina, devoted more of his attention to the natural history of the country than to its actual productions. All those writers, whilst displaying the capabilities of the soil, neglected to inform us of the extent in which those capabilities had been called into action; and when describing the climate chiefly dwelt upon that which was the most genial and salubrious. From such accounts the European, who inseparably associates with such advantages the ideas of dense population and abundant production, will necessarily be misled. To counteract the imperfect and erroneous impressions thus created, it is useful to recur to mere travellers: from their journals—where the want of food, of water, and of resting-places is incidentally related—where the fatigue

arising from rude means of conveyance, unformed roads, and uncivilized guides and attendants are complained of—and the melancholy feelings excited by travelling for days through barren or uncultivated districts, or over steep, dangerous, and frozen mountains graphically described—the reader may deduce a sufficient number of facts to enable him to correct the too favourable statements of resident observers.

In this view each of the three works now before us has, though in different degrees and with some variation, considerable merit. Mr. Schmidtmeier and Captain Hall have related what they saw with every mark of veracity and with becoming simplicity. The former of these gentlemen traversed the continent from Buenos Ayres to Chili twice, and returned by the same route; besides which, while in Chili he made excursions to the north and the south. He describes the manners and appearance of the inhabitants, the general face of the country, and what he saw of its agriculture, mining, manufactures and commerce. Mr. Schmidtmeier's accurate observations on the various occurrences that presented themselves make us regret that he had not consulted some native, who might have corrected his composition in what we must in candour presume to be a foreign language: we could, too, dispense with a portion of that German sentimentality which is sometimes suffered to interpose between more interesting matters. We are better pleased with his narratives than with his reflections, and should not have regretted the omission of much which he has extracted from other writers. With these slight censures we can cheerfully recommend the work, and we deem its scattered hints most valuable assistants in forming a just idea of the real state of the countries through which he travelled.

Captain Basil Hall, an officer whose amusing work on *Loa-Choo* has rendered his name familiar to the reader, has produced, under the unpretending title of 'Extracts from a Journal,' two volumes full of interesting anecdotes, and lively descriptions of events, which occurred during his professional visits to several places on the coast of the Pacific Ocean from Chili to the northern part of Mexico. We have not the slightest doubt of the accuracy of his narrative, and to every thing that he relates of what he saw or heard we give implicit credence. Mr. Schmidtmeier has prudently avoided entering into the subject of those party-politics which have visited with such dreadful calamities the late dominions of Spain in America. We do not censure Captain Hall for having followed a different course; though we should have been better satisfied if he had been a less decided panegyrist of one of the chief actors in the business of destruction, or a more hesitating believer in the power of reproduction with

with which the revolutionary leaders have duped the natives of the countries whose coasts he passed and slightly touched upon. We are, too, rather surprized at the degree of importance which he gives to the expressions of popular feeling which he witnessed among those with whom he chiefly associated. The state of blind subjection to which those people had been long accustomed, must have habituated them to such demonstrations as they exhibited in favour of whatever party obtained, for even a short period, the superiority. In countries differently circumstanced, the momentary ebullitions which the victorious party may excite, are very little to be depended on. The shouts which accompanied Cromwell, on his visit to the Lord Mayor, were probably as loud as those uttered in the progress of Charles the Second from Dover to Whitehall. The Parisians were equally versatile and equally clamorous in their applause of Buonaparte and of Louis XVIII. The Cortes of Spain, and their absolute monarch, were in their turn alike the objects of enthusiastic feelings and acclamations. In Chili, the Carreras, O'Higgins, and now Freire, have each, as their efforts raised them to supreme command, been the idols at whose shrine the popular incense has been rapturously offered. Captain Hall must be aware that in those territories which once belonged to Spain, and which now are said to be free, because they are no longer dependent on her, not the least symptom of disapprobation has been allowed to be expressed in any publication whatever. The few who can read must, if they read at all, receive the exaggerated representations and false colourings which the triumphant party may choose to publish. That such representations should be repeated from mouth to mouth by the vast proportion who are incapable of reading, is quite natural; and we do not wonder that even a British officer, amidst the triumphant shouts of victory, should be somewhat infected by the prevailing mania: we should have thought however, that a long voyage from St. Blas to Europe might have given time for reflexion, and sobered down that high-toned enthusiasm which, assuming prophetic power, can see, after a bloody contest of thirteen years, still raging with as much fury, if not with as much force, as at its commencement, the termination of the troubles in a state of peace, prosperity and freedom.

The colonial systems adopted by the several governments of Europe were founded on the views of the importance of colonies entertained at the period when those colonies were formed, and on the political opinions which prevailed in the countries from which they emanated. Those systems did not contemplate the growth which the colonies subsequently obtained; nor did they, for it was not possible they should, partake of the more libe-

ral views which the progress of time and knowledge gradually unfolded. The colonial system of Spain, formed in the reign of Charles V., could not possess that freedom which was admitted one hundred and fifty years later, when England planted her colonies in America. Spain had the task of subduing, and of reconciling to her policy and her religion, numerous tribes of natives, who were not so far advanced in civilization as herself, and who, like herself, had been subjected to an arbitrary and intolerant government. It is natural, then, that the institutions to be established should partake of the spirit of the age, and be accommodated to what were the habits of the old, as well as the new inhabitants of America. Had England formed establishments in America, in the reign of Henry VII., and had the countries in which they were formed, been as thickly peopled, and as far advanced towards civilization as Mexico and Peru, at the time of their discovery, we apprehend the more free institutions, which began to be practically understood in the reign of the Stuarts, would scarcely have found a place in the provinces of New England. The rudiments of that freedom which North America now enjoys, were laid in a period when the due rights of the governed and the limits of power in the governors were better understood, and more accurately defined than during the reign of the Tudors. In the latest of these periods, the great principle of religious toleration was unknown, a difference in theological opinion was universally acknowledged to be an atrocious crime, and was uniformly thought of with an abhorrence that seemed to justify the cruelty with which it was frequently treated. Deliberative legislative assemblies, freedom of discussion on public affairs, uniformity of contributions, trials by jury, independence of judges, publicity of judicial proceedings, personal security-laws, and other social improvements, were all the growth of the period which intervened between the conquest of Mexico and the colonization of New England. During that period, whilst the rest of Europe was advancing by regular though unequal steps, Spain, as well as Portugal, was oppressed by that night-mare of the mind, the Inquisition, whose tremendous and invisible power, exercised chiefly on those whose faculties would have been most likely to lead to general improvement, extinguished every spark of genius directed to any other objects than those connected with the art of war.

We are far from approving the mode by which Spain governed her distant possessions; but we cannot admire the taste which could induce an intelligent British officer, like Captain Hall, to repeat the exaggerated statement, which occurs in his 12th chapter, of the evils of that system, without even noticing the small portion of good which accompanied it. Some of the evils which he

condemns

condemns are to be equally attributed to every other European government. England, France, Holland, and Portugal, like Spain, excluded their colonies from all commercial intercourse with other countries. The governors, commanders of the forces, and other elevated officers, were as generally chosen from Europe by those governments as by the court of Madrid. It was the weak policy of the parent states to discourage the production of such commodities in the colonies as they imagined would rival their own; and if the old principle that 'the colonies existed only for the benefit of the mother-country,' was not acted up to as extensively by others as by the Spaniards, we must make some allowance for those who had suffered severely from the buccaners, and whose chief productions, gold and silver, were peculiarly calculated to excite the activity of numerous adventurers. In those particulars in which the Spanish colonial system was worse than that of other nations, the excess of evil may be traced to the religious feelings created and upheld in Spain by the abominable institution which we have already noticed, which bound in chains of darkness the minds of the court, the nobility, the army, the clergy, and even the Inquisitors themselves. Perhaps to this same religious feeling which produced the spirit of proselytism, may be traced the mild conduct of the Spanish government towards the coloured races: Neither the English, the French, nor the Dutch, were accustomed to treat the Indians or the negroes with that leniency which the Spaniards dictated to their colonists. The regulations of the Council of the Indies, with all the faults of the constitution of that body, were framed with a view to improve the condition of the inferior races, and where they failed of their intended effect, the failure arose more from the selfish views of the creole Americans than from any want of humane intentions in the official administration of the mother-country. Mr. Southey, in his *History of Brazil*, has related the obstructions practised in America to nullify the orders of the council of the Indies for abolishing the system of *encomiendas* and *mitas*, which Captain Hall speaks of as effected by what he most inaccurately calls the free governments recently established; which governments, especially that of Chili, have substituted the worse practice of military conscription, in the room of the long-abolished regulations of the mining *Mita*. The operations of the missionaries, and especially of the Jesuits, were dictated by humanity, and though their restrictions on the growth of the mind were found effectual to check advancement beyond a precise and that a low point, yet for elevating the rude savage up to that point, they were certainly well contrived. Their object seems to have been to keep their Neophytes in a state of pupillage, to preserve them from any wanderings into heathenish or heretical pravity, and thus to secure

their everlasting happiness, though in the process, and as a necessary part of it, all intellectual advancement was effectually suspended.

It is well known with what facility the evanescent revolutionary governments in America can issue abstract dogmas respecting liberty, and the still greater facility with which they can prevent their practical adoption. In this they have followed the example of the Cortes of Cadiz, who decreed that the Americans were in all their rights equal to the European Spaniards; and as soon as the Americans began to exercise the rights thus decreed, drove them to resistance and anarchy by opposing their own declarations.

We have indulged in so many remarks suggested by the perusal of Captain Hall's excursive and amusing work, that we had nearly overlooked the quarto of Mrs. Graham. She seems more infected with the abstract admiration of revolutions than Captain Hall, and in her Chilian and Peruvian politics is directly opposed to that gallant officer. Two of the leaders, General San Martin and Lord Cochrane, have, or rather, perhaps, we should say *had*, formed opposite parties—for these revolutionary heroes *come like shadows, so depart*;—Captain Hall temperately espouses the cause of the former; Mrs. Graham takes up that of the latter, and while she lavishes the most fulsome praise on the admiral, does not forget to abuse the general without mercy. As both were swept from the scene of action before their advocates committed to the press their respective exculpations, they can have no effect on the future fate of those chiefs, nor on the countries that have been the theatre of their exploits; but as they have been brought before the tribunal of the European public, we shall, before we close this article, assisted by some documents which have come to our hands, and which neither Captain Hall nor Mrs. Graham have inserted in their works, invite a slight portion of the attention of our readers to the subject.

The countries planted or subdued by Spain are so various in their characters and features, and had such different origins, that by merely general views it is difficult to communicate any very accurate conceptions of their present condition. As in our last Number we sketched a picture of Mexico, the nearest, the most populous, the most wealthy, and the most advanced in civilization of any of the trans-atlantic dominions of the Spanish crown, we shall now present a similar view of Chili, the most remote, the poorest, the weakest, and the least populous of them all. It has recently become more interesting than its real importance warrants, from its convulsive efforts at distant conquests, and from having by the assistance of a collection of marine adventurers, attracted by the hope of the plunder of that imaginary El Dorado, Peru, been enabled

bled to spread desolation and ruin over the only country that steadfastly maintained its adherence to the mother-country.

Under the dominion of Spain the captain-generalship of Chili extended from latitude 24° south to Cape Horn; but no settlements were actually formed beyond the 44th degree, so that the length occupied may be taken at 1400 English miles. Its breadth varied from 200 to 450 miles, stretching in some parts considerably to the eastward of the Andes, and in other parts, being bounded by that range of lofty mountains. Its surface may be about three times the extent of the two islands of Great Britain and Ireland. The great feature of the southern division of America, the ranges of the Andes, which from their height and consequent excessive coldness are uninhabited and uninhabitable, covers nearly one third of the surface of Chili. Between the loftiest of these ranges, called the Cordilleras, and the sea, two others are found, each lower than the next. These lateral ranges are connected by several cross elevations. Many deep vallies are thus formed, some of which, being filled with water from the melted snows of the Cordilleras, become mountain lakes; while others, in which the waters have found a passage to the sea, may be termed beautiful and fertile spots, in which pasture for cattle is frequently met with, when the great droughts of the lower lands have destroyed all the herbage. From the foot of the lower range of the Andes the land gradually descends towards the sea, but more precipitously near the shore than at any of the intervening parts. Even this comparatively low country is a continuation of cross branches or spurs from the Andes, presenting barren mountain-plains intersected by occasional deep fissures, in whose bottoms the melted snows form streams that in winter scarcely deserve the name of rivulets, but in summer, when the snows in the mountains most abundantly melt, become deep and rapid torrents, which sweep before them every obstacle. As rain very rarely falls in Chili, and only in the two or three winter months, and as dews are light when they are occasionally experienced, the districts between the ravines, exposed as they are to the constant influence of an unclouded sun in that warm climate, are almost destitute of vegetation, and present either bare rocks or barren sands to the eye of the traveller. The only inhabited or cultivated portions of this extensive country are those specks scattered over its length in what are called the *quebradas*, or fissures, through which the melted snows find a passage to the sea. The six or seven towns in Chili are all, except the capital, St. Jago, situated near the spots of these ravines, where they terminate in the Pacific ocean. Ovalle, Molina, and the other authors who have described the country, have overlooked the vast intervals between these

these fissures, and confining their accounts exclusively to the narrow vallies, have, as we observed, represented Chili as a country possessing a soil and climate of the highest degree of fertility. These exaggerated statements are properly reduced to their just value by the authors under our consideration. Captain Hall, in his ride from Valparayso to the capital, observes:—

'The whole country seemed burnt up; not a blade of grass was any where to be seen; not a drop of moisture; every thing was parched and withered along the baked ground, which was riven into innumerable crevices. In the course of the morning we passed several ridges of hills, and here and there the eye was gladdened by the sight of a slender strip of green, pointing out the course of some mountain stream.'

The more extensive journies of Mr. Schmidtmeier give the same picture of the face of the country. On his long excursion from Guasto to Valparayso, he remarks, 'We had not met in Chili with any herds of cattle or of sheep, nor had we seen any spot during this extensive journey in it, where they could be maintained in numbers:—the cultivated grounds appear but as very small spots over an immense waste.' The general want of moisture and the consequent sterility of Chili may be conceived by the fact which this author states, 'that from Maypo in Chili to Atacama, a distance of one thousand geographical miles, all the rivers and streams which flow westerly from those huge masses the Andes, would not form so considerable a body of water, as that with which the Rhone enters the lake of Geneva, or of the Thames at Staines.' This excessive drought is, however, less felt on advancing southward into a more temperate climate. From the river Biobio, in latitude 37, to the Straits of Magellan, the land is moistened by abundant rains, and it is from this portion of the country that the most striking pictures of the high fertility of Chili have been drawn. Between that river and Valdivia, the whole country is occupied by the unreclaimed Arucanian Indians, whose exploits have been sounded in Europe by the epic poet Ercilla. According to the interesting account of them in Captain Hall's work, their present ferocity, if not their courage, is equal to that of their ancestors, which the poet has recorded. The country is untraversed by Spaniards, and still maintains its independence; and its wars with the republicans of Chili, who are on both its frontiers. The city of Concepcion, by whose garrison the Arucanians were kept in check towards the north, is in a state of desolation, whilst Valdivia to the south, after being seized by Lord Cochrane, presents to them no barrier to be dreaded. The best part of Chili, the country near Concepcion, is so exposed to their ravaging incursions as to present no inducements

to

to attend to its cultivation, or to attract the inhabitants of the more northern and less fertile parts to settle there.

We find much difficulty in estimating the number of inhabitants in Chili. No authentic accounts have presented themselves to our notice, nor rewarded our researches into the amount of population. Every traveller who inquires of a Spaniard either in Europe or America the number of souls or of families in the town or province of which he is an inhabitant, will be assuredly, if not designedly, deceived. In an instance now before us this may be exemplified. Mrs. Graham, doubtless on the faith of some of its citizens, states Valparayso to contain 15,000 inhabitants; Mr. Schmidtmeier, who is certainly an accurate observer, and appears to have accustomed himself to such kind of estimates, calculates them at 3,500. We have seen in some of the Spanish periodical works the whole number of inhabitants in Chili estimated at 600,000. There was no disposition in them to lessen the number, and they included portions which are detached from that country, or opposed to it at present. In their calculation were included the towns of Mendoza, San Luis de la Punta, and San Juan de Frontera, with the territories around them on the eastern side of the Andes. These small provinces have now assumed independence, and are exercising that independence by hostilities with each other, with the petty republic of Cordova, and, whenever it suits their caprice, with Chili and Buenos Ayres. To make up the number, the whole province of Cuyo is included, consisting of the Indian tribes, the Pecunches and Pehuenches, descended from the ancient Aucas, and mixed with Mulattos, who form a wandering tribe. In the same calculation are included the Arucanians on the western side of the Andes, who wage interminable war, and the people of Chiloe, who, under the Spanish commander Quintanilla, are holding that position for Ferdinand, whilst their chief, according to Mrs. Graham, 'displays a loyalty like that of the old knights of romance, rather than any thing one meets with in modern days.' Our readers may form some judgment of the actual population of the republic, for such, we believe, it is called, of Chili, from the summary drawn by Mr. Schmidtmeier, after he had finished his journey and visited all the towns except Concepcion and Valdivia.

The population of Santiago, with its suburbs, rated at about 40,000, is an estimate in the correctness of which both common report and appearance seem to concur. Captain de la Pérouse and Von Kotzebue, who were both at Concepcion, have set down its population at 10,000, and according to the information which I have received from several persons who have been there, it appears thus, and including its port Talcahuana, very fully rated. I have been twice at Coquimbo, and believe it unlikely that all its inhabitants, those in its vicinity included,

could

could make up the number of eight thousand. Between three and four thousand for Valparayso and the Almendral are an ample allowance; and now that we have travelled over, or heard of all the other cities and towns of Chili, if we unite the population in them and in their immediate neighbourhood, with that of the three places mentioned above and of the capital, we shall not make up the number of 100,000. Where else shall we again look for twice that amount? The road from Santiago to Concepcion, it is true, leads through many long straggling villages; but in all the space which lies to the right and left of them, settlements are small and few. On the northern roads, from the capital to Copiapo, the hamlets and detached dwellings are still less considerable or numerous, and we cannot expect to find on either side of them a population of much importance, as the few large villages in that direction are not thickly inhabited. Valdivia is a fort with a small nearly deserted town, and with an insignificant territory thirty miles long and twenty broad, chiefly covered with woods. Chiloe is not at present united with Chili, and all other below Concepcion have been either wholly or partly destroyed and forsaken. Ultimately, and summing up all, we may not be able to find much more than 250,000 souls; which might be supposed the minimum, and 400,000 the maximum of the population of that country.*—p. 355.

From the nature of the soil on the few spots on which establishments have been made, and in the Spanish maps dignified with the name of cities, we may account for the desolation of many which we have formerly heard of. The rapid vegetation soon buries the remains of houses built of unburnt bricks, and the cities of Imperial, Repocura, Orsonio, and others, are now only to be found in the map of De la Cruz.

The city of Concepcion, which Mr. Schmidtmeier has included in his estimate of population, has been destroyed by one of those

* As much exaggeration has been circulated respecting the population of the several states of America formerly subject to Spain, it may not be amiss to correct these ignorant or wilful misstatements. In North America, Mexico, including Guatimala, at present separated from it, contains, we have good reason to believe, about 8,000,000 inhabitants. In South America, the population of New Granada, Caracas, and Guiana, before the desolating war, and before they had assumed the present name of Columbia, was estimated at 2,300,000. Peru appeared by the last *Guia de Peru*, published in Lima, by Don Hipolito Umanue, to contain 1,100,000. Chili was never reckoned by the Spaniards higher than 600,000, and is now estimated by Schmidtmeier at the most 400,000. Buenos Ayres, in the report made to the North American commissioners Rodney and Graham in 1818, was represented to contain 1,200,000. In that number was included the inhabitants of the country under the rule of Artigas called Banda Oriental—that is, Monte Video and its surrounding territory in possession of the Brazilians—Paraguay, Tucuman, and Potosi, which still retain their allegiance to Spain—and the small independent and hostile republics of San Juan de la Frontera, San Luis de la Punta, and Mendoza. These are all statements made by the inhabitants themselves, and were drawn up before the dreadful devastation which thirteen years of barbarous hostility have produced. The decrease in this aggregate number of 13,000,000, since 1810, if judged of from the vast decline in exportable productions, must be very considerable.

resolute villains who flourish in revolutionary times. He had been sometimes a royalist, sometimes a republican, and sometimes independently of both parties practising on his own account. The effect of the operations of this ruffian, called Benavides, is well depicted by Captain Hall in the account of a visit, made for a humane purpose, to the theatre of his exploits. He proceeded from the Port Talcaguana to the city of Concepcion,—

“In the course of our ride,” he says, “we passed over many leagues of country, once evidently covered with habitations, but now totally deserted, and all the cottages in ruins. Rich pastures and tracts of arable land of the finest quality were allowed to run to weeds, without a single individual to be seen, or a cow, a sheep, or indeed any living thing. The town of Concepcion, even at a distance, partook, in its appearance, of the character of the times; for the churches were all in ruins, and the streets in such decay, that we actually found ourselves in the suburbs before knowing that we had reached the town, so complete had been the destruction. Whole quadras, which had been burnt down and reduced to heaps of rubbish, were now so thickly overgrown with weeds and shrubs that scarcely any trace of their former character was distinguishable. The grass touched our feet as we rode along the foot-paths, marking the places of the old carriage ways. Here and there parts of the town had escaped the ravage, but these only served to make the surrounding desolation more manifest. A strange incongruity prevailed every where: offices and court-yards were seen where the houses to which they belonged were completely gone; and sometimes the houses remained, in ruins indeed, but every thing about them swept away. Near the centre of the town a magnificent sculptured gateway attracted our attention: upon inquiry, we found it had been the principal entrance to the bishop’s palace, of which there was not a vestige left, although the gateway was in perfect preservation. Many of the houses which did remain were uninhabited; and such is the rapidity with which vegetation advances in this climate, that most of these buildings were completely enveloped in a thick mantle of shrubs, creepers, and wild flowers, whilst the streets were every where knee deep in grass and weeds. A solitary peasant, wrapped in his poncho, stood at the corner of the square, leaning against the only remaining angle of the cathedral; and in a dark corner, among the ruins of the falling aisle, were seated four or five women round a fire cooking their meat, by hanging it in the smoke over the embers. The town, though stripped of its wealth and importance, was not wholly depopulated. The few remaining inhabitants had drawn together for mutual support and consolation in these sorrowful times. The children were almost all handsome, and had the appearance of belonging to a fine race: unlike their parents, they were unconscious of the evils by which their country had been overwhelmed, and though doubtless hungry, and cold enough, looked as happy and merry as their elders were despondent and miserable.”

The city of Santiago, as well as the other towns in Chili, are constructed

constructed in such a manner as to prepare them for the rude shocks given by the earthquakes, which are of frequent and sometimes tremendous occurrence. The streets are so wide as to afford security to the inhabitants in the middle of them, when their houses are shaken down by the dreadful convulsion. The walls are formed of unburnt bricks, or rather cakes of clay dried in the sun, about four inches thick, from fifteen to eighteen long, and from nine to twelve broad; these are cemented by the same substance in a more moist state, and usually plastered within with the same earth. The houses rarely have more than a ground floor, and are covered sometimes with tiles, but more commonly with thatch, and the latter is plastered over with a coating of clay. Almost every one has a garden as a place of refuge from earthquakes, and the trees in these growing higher than the roofs of the houses, give to Santiago, at a distance, and even when entering its streets, more the appearance of a wood than of a city. The inferior dwellings are sheds, built on posts, with either branches or reeds interwoven. Such are the buildings in the few towns. In the country, the owners of a farm or of cattle have long single-floored ranges, constructed like those of the towns, whilst the peasantry have mere cages of cane, not better nor more sheltered from the weather than a building would be in England if twelve hurdles were set on end, forming a square, and covered over with others. So little is wet regarded, that the peasantry usually take off their clothes when it rains, justifying the practice by saying 'the skin dries quicker than cloth.' According to Mr. Schmidtmeier, this description of persons commonly sleep in the open air, and he himself during his journeys, frequently adopted the same practice.

The inhabitants of Chili may be most naturally divided into two classes, the highest and the lowest, with scarcely any gradations between them, or any of those connecting links which soften the differences of station in the more civilized countries of Europe. The patrician or aristocratic families are the great landed proprietors. They are the descendants of the first settlers, or of military or civil officers from Spain, who obtained grants of vast portions of land, which being confined by the strict entails called *Mayorazgos*, have been transmitted to their descendants. Other tracts of land, of similar extent, have been appropriated to support the different religious foundations in the country.

* Some of these estates, says Schmidtmeier, 'not only reach from the foot of the Andes to the sea, but have claims over that series of mountains to their plains on the eastern side, being hundreds of miles in length, with a breadth from twenty to thirty. Some of their cattle, in order to keep alive the right of possession to themselves and their masters, come down the eastern declivity, but the masses of that chain
are

are so wide, and the cattle of the *Mendozinos* and the *San Juanistes* so few, that there is no risk of hostile contacts. Even on the Andes there is no common pasture-land, and if the muleteer wish that some of his beasts should have the benefit of the fattening and invigorating alpine plants, he must pay for it to the owner of a section of those mountains.

Mrs. Graham informs us, that between Valparayso and Santiago, a distance of ninety miles, three proprietors possess the whole soil. She adds, 'that government has it now in contemplation to remedy this evil,' by allowing sales or long leases of portions of the land. But what she calls the government, (General O'Higgins, who had reigned four years,) was driven away by another military adventurer, before this design was attempted to be executed. In the same rank with these large landed proprietors, some of whom have had titles of nobility transmitted to them, may be classed those who work the few mines still kept open, and the higher clergy, with the officers civil and military. There are some exceptions to this representation, and in one or two of the vallies that open to the sea, are to be found a few clusters of small independent proprietors, such as Schmidtmeier has noticed in the vicinity of Aconcagua.

Though we have spoken of nobility and aristocracy, they must not be confounded with the terms in use with us. The proprietors of Chili are great herdsmen; and the whole population, with slight exceptions, have merely advanced in civilization from the hunter to the shepherd state. Each of the residences of these proprietors, whether called a *Hacienda*, a *Rancho*, a *Chacra*, or an *Assiento*, is provided with what the Americans call a store, where the noble shopkeeper retails sugar, flour, ardent spirits, clothing and domestic utensils, to the poor that surround his establishment. Like all people in that state of society, they are hospitable to strangers, and in a country where no public houses of entertainment are yet known, the feelings of a traveller may well be allowed to dictate those expressions of gratitude with which Mrs. Graham and Mr. Schmidtmeier record their reception at the houses of several individuals. This gentleman's account of an evening passed at the *Assiento de Guasco*, or *Santa Rosa*, is characteristic of the state of society.

'We stopped at a small village, *Santa Rosa*, the only one in this valley between the shipping place and the town, a distance of thirty-five miles. The chief inhabitants are engaged in mining and in the retail trade of their shops. At night they came to the house where I had been received. On a long slip of carpet sat the ladies, after the old custom of the country; the most favoured place is a bench along it; a *tertulia* was formed, the men were of gentlemanly deportment, even the master muleteer came in to pay his respects, but took a proper station near the door; the other sex kept up a gentlewomanly appearance.

ance. Cegars were smoked by the former, and the conversation turned principally on copper, the ships expected to call for it, and on the expedition then preparing against Peru. The desire of information does not yet seem to extend much beyond what concerns mines and stores, and once satisfied that I had not come to buy copper, our arrival in the valley of Guasco ceased to afford any interest. During the tertulia, a feature characteristic of ease and indolence was exhibited. A poor boy, sent on an errand, thrust his head in at the door, and asked, "is there sugar?" The lady of the house, her husband not being within, answered "there is," but did not move for a considerable time; at last she left the party and went to the shop to help the boy. I have generally observed in this country, the appearance of as much favour conferred by dealing goods out, as by asking and paying for them.—p. 266.

If the same simplicity of manners is not to be seen in the capital among the few families of what, for the sake of distinction, may be called rank, yet the descriptions given by Mrs. Graham, who seems to have judiciously naturalized herself with them, evince a grossness of manners very remote from what is to be seen in any part of Europe, or even in decent company in North America. That lady, in giving an account of her reception dinner, at the house of one of the first families, on her arrival in the capital, says,

'The dinner was larger than could be thought consistent with good taste; but every thing was well dressed, though with a good deal of oil and garlic. The greatest kindness is shown by taking things from your own plate and putting them on that of your friend; and no scruple is made of helping any dish before you with the spoon or knife you have been eating with, or even tasting or eating from the general dish without the intervention of a plate. The table is stuck in one corner of the darkest, dullest, and meanest apartment of the house, so that one end and one side only allow room for a row of high chairs between them and the wall, so that any thing like the regular attendance of servants is precluded.'

Even with the fear of tiring our readers by descriptions of Chilean aristocratic manners, we cannot, after our slight sketch of a dinner party, refrain from giving the lady's account of one of the several routs at which she was present, and though it was at the mansion of one of the most distinguished families, the others so much resemble it, that further description becomes unnecessary.

'In the evening, the friends and relations of the family arrived, and the young people amused themselves with music and dancing. The elder ones conversed over a chafing dish, and had a thick coverlet spread over it and their knees, which answers the double purpose of confining the heat to the legs and preventing the fumes of the charcoal from making the head ache. It is but lately that the ladies of Chili have learned to sit on chairs, instead of squatting on the estradas. Now in lieu of the estrada, there are usually long carpets placed on each side of the room, with two rows of chairs, as close together as the knees of the

the opposite parties will permit, so that the feet of both meet on the carpet. The graver people place themselves with their backs to the wall, the young ladies opposite, and as the young men drop in they place themselves behind the ladies, and conversation is carried on without ceremony in half whispers. Dancing begins by minuets, which are followed by allemandes, quadrilles and Spanish dances. The latter are exceedingly graceful, as danced here; but then the waltz never brought youth and mirth and beauty into such close contact with a partner. However, they are used to it, and I was a fool to feel troubled at the sight. Some of their habits are disagreeable; for instance, a handsome fat lady, who came all in blue satin to the palace (*for it was at the viceroy's palace*) to-night, had a spitting-box brought and set before her, into which she spat continually, and so dexterously, as to shew she was well accustomed to the manœuvre. However, the young ladies, and all who would be thought so, are leaving off these ugly habits fast.

In a country where few men and scarcely any women can read, where there are no books which can induce them to acquire that art, and where all political views are confined to their own country, to Buenos Ayres and Peru, it is not to be expected that the current conversation should extend beyond the topics which most interest them, their shops, their farms, and their mines. Accordingly we find in the three works before us, no hint that any thing approaching to that interesting conversation which is to be met with, more or less, in all polished society in England, in France, and in Germany, was suffered to interfere with the smoking, the music the dancing, and above all the gambling, that generally prevailed. A gay and gallant officer like Captain Hall, might, on landing from a long sea voyage, find amusement in the frolics of the Tapa-das, (disguised ladies,) and the jovial gaiety of their homely circles. A lady, like Mrs. Graham, in her calamitous situation, was prudent in accommodating herself to their customs, and wise in entering into their amusement, whilst the more thoughtful German (as we suppose Mr. Schmidtmeyer to be) could indulge his disposition to observe manners and generalise characters.

We have sketched the higher classes in Chili from the scattered features of them incidentally furnished by our authors. The picture of the great mass assimilates so nearly to that of the lower classes in other countries, that the representation of them may be comprised in a few words. We have noticed their dwellings, or rather their cages; their dress and utensils are on a similar scale; their chief food is inferior meat, with some preparation of maize flour, abundance of garlic, much fruit, especially water-melons, and a profusion of that useful condiment in a warm country, the capicum, or Chili pepper. They are now almost wholly derived from the

the intercourse between the original inhabitants and Spanish settlers. If any of the pure Indian race remains, it is so mixed with the European, that, in language, in religion, and in general habits, it is no longer distinguishable. There were in Chili few negro slaves, and the decree for abolishing slavery, issued early in the revolution, was a mere affectation of philanthropy. The remains of the old system of *encomiendas*, or forced labour, though long ago abolished by the Spanish government, continued in practice, and though Mrs. Graham, by way of compliment to the revolution, states it to have been abolished in the beginning of that series of calamities, still the practice is continued. She says, 'that duty-work was abolished, that servants are now paid, and are beginning to have houses of their own. Yet still much duty-work is done, in fact, by the Peons and half Indians on every estate, although it may not be strictly legal: but what are the poor to do? They must take their shelter and their food from some employer, and the employer will often exact from him several labours beyond the law.'

Whatever slight alleviation might be afforded to their condition by the paper abolition of the *encomienda* or duty-work systems, under the revolutionary chiefs that have risen up, they have suffered far greater evils by being made subject to the military impressment. Thousands of the ablest and strongest individuals were taken without their own wills being consulted, brought bound in files from their hamlets to the sea-ports, and dispatched with little food, scanty clothing, and with only the promise of future pay, to serve under chiefs who regarded their lives and their comforts less than that of the cattle on the estates from which they had been forcibly transported. The mortality among these wretched peasants, both on their voyage to Peru, where they were stowed closer than negroes on the middle passage, and after they had landed at Ancon, was enormous, and could only be replaced by successive levies of recruits from their fellow-labourers, who were seized and conveyed to their destination in the same manner. We have the most undoubted evidence of this from an eye-witness, and indeed, without it we should be at a loss to account for a country like Chili, with its erratic population, being enabled to produce armies on a sudden, bearing to its inhabitants a proportion double to that which France or England, with their abundant resources and their density of people, could, after much delay, bring into the field.

The great abundance of horses has formed the natives of Chili into excellent horsemen. They rarely walk the distance of a mile, and they keep, generally, a horse saddled and bridled at their doors, to convey them from house to house. Among all classes, indolence seems to be the general habit, unless roused by some extraordinary occasion,

occasion, when they are capable of endurance, abstinence, and sometimes even perseverance. Mr. Schmidtmeier's remarks on the peasantry are evidently the result of just observation.

'The hours which I daily passed with the poorer classes, afforded me many opportunities of observing their good and cheerful dispositions, their becoming language and manners, the gentleness and the seemingly affectionate feelings with which they live with each other: their children appear to do what they please, but such is their natural idleness, that they are probably seldom inclined to mischief. This habit of indolence, which pervades all ages, is, however, strongly belied by liveliness of countenance and speech, and often by considerable exertions when necessary. A feature which deserves particular notice, is the security with which a traveller may pursue his journey, sleep in open air, and remain entirely exposed during his rest, although known to be travelling for commercial purposes, and generally with much money or valuable goods in his trunks. There are few spots in Chili where this may not be done without risk. To receive strangers is, even with the poorest, an act of hospitality rather than of self-interest.'

The idea of their superiority to more polished people, which seems to be universally cherished in the state of society a little advanced beyond the condition of savages, was remarked by Schmidtmeier among the Chilenos.

'I had often observed,' he says, 'on the road, that I was not looked upon, nor so well treated, as my own muleteers; for they were not only signioried on all occasions, but sometimes called by the high title of *Senor Cavallero*; whilst they very seldom, if ever, would vouchsafe to signior me: their answers were a plain yes or no: their asking again what I meant to say, hey or what? At one place he observes, 'I called the lady of the house *Signiora*, her husband *Signior*, but failed in obtaining any corresponding marks of respect. I once asked why they did not call me *Signior*, as I did them: they stared and laughed, actually humoured me afterwards several times, as they would have done a child asking for a little sugar, but shortly relapsed into what I clearly saw implied some felt or assumed superiority over me.' He adds, 'Many tribes of American Indians, which we hold in low estimation, are known to look down on us as drudges, constantly intent on gain, and much inferior to themselves.'

Education in this country appears to be on a very low and confined scale. The slight benefits conferred by it are limited to a few young men of the best families, whilst that of the females is wholly neglected. The establishments for this purpose are under the direction of the clergy, who have received in them the mere rudiments of knowledge; and the excessive bigotry and superstition of that body, united with their conceit, seem to forbid the hope of improvement. The charlatan decrees regarding education, issued by the revolutionary rulers, have experienced the usual fate of such

impositions: they had scarcely begun to operate, before they were annihilated.

The chief rural occupation is the breeding and fattening of horned cattle. One of the large proprietors of land, the Marquis of Larraín, is stated to have herds amounting to fifteen thousand head of cattle; and several others possess from five to eight thousand. No part of the rural economy of Chili is so peculiarly characteristic as the mode of catching these animals, killing them, and preserving their flesh. A cord (lasso) made of the hide of a bullock is employed for taking them, and dexterity in the application of it is the exclusive object of the education of those who use it.

'The unerring precision with which the lasso is thrown is perfectly astonishing,' says Captain Hall; 'and to one who sees it for the first time, has a very magical appearance. Even when standing still, it is by no means an easy thing to throw the lasso; but the difficulty is vastly increased when it comes to be used on horseback, and at a gallop; and when, in addition, the rider has to pass over uneven ground, and to leap hedges and ditches in his course: yet such is the dexterity of the Guassos, that they are not only sure of catching the animal they are in chase of, but can fix, or, as they term it, place their lasso on any particular part they please; over the horns, round the neck, or the body, or they can include all four legs, or two, or any one of the four, and the whole with such ease and certainty, that it is necessary to witness the feat to have a just conception of the skill displayed. If a wild bull is to be caught, and two mounted horsemen, or Guassos, undertake to kill it; as soon as they discover him, they grasp the coil in the left hand, prepare the noose in the right, and dash off at full gallop, each swinging his lasso round his head. The first who comes within reach, aims at the bull's horns, and when he sees, which he does in an instant, that the lasso will take effect, he stops his horse and turns it half round, the bull continuing his course till the whole lasso of fifteen or twenty yards in length has run out from the guasso's hand. The horse, meanwhile, knowing by experience what is going to happen, leans over, as much as he can, in the opposite direction from the bull, and stands in trembling expectation of the violent tug which is given by the bull when he is brought up by the lasso. So great indeed is the jerk which takes place at this moment, that, were not the horse to lean over, he would certainly be overturned; but standing as he does, with his feet planted firmly on the ground, he offers sufficient resistance to stop the bull as instantaneously as if he had been shot, though at full speed; and in some cases the check is so abrupt and violent, that the animal is not only dashed to the ground, but rolls along at the full stretch of the lasso; while the horse, drawn sideways, ploughs up the earth with his feet for several yards. This, which takes so long to describe, is the work of a few seconds, during which the other horseman gallops past, and before the bull has time to recover from the shock, places the lasso over the horns, and continues at advancing till it also is at the full stretch.

stretch. The bull, stupified by the fall, sometimes lies motionless on the ground; but the horsemen soon rouse him up, by tugging him to and fro. When on his legs, he is like a ship moored with two cables; and however unwilling he may be to accompany the horsemen, or however great his struggles, he is irresistibly dragged along by them in whatever direction they please. If the intention be to kill the animal for the sake of the hide and tallow alone, as is often the case, one of the guassos dismounts, and running in, cuts the bull's hamstrings with a long knife which he always wears in his girdle, and instantly afterwards dispatches him by a dexterous cut across the back of the neck. The most surprising thing is, the manner in which the horse, after being left by his rider, manages to preserve the lasso always tight; this would be less difficult if the bull would remain steady, but it sometimes happens that he makes violent struggles to disentangle himself from the lassos, rushing backwards and forwards in a furious manner; the horse, however, with wonderful sagacity, alters his place and prances about, as if conscious of what he is doing, so as to resist every movement of the bull, and never allowing the lasso to be relaxed for a moment.

When a wild horse is to be taken, the lasso is always placed round the two hind legs; and as the guasso rides a little on one side, the jerk pulls the horse's feet laterally, so as to throw him on his side, without endangering his knees or his face. Before the horse can recover the shock, the rider dismounts, and snatching his poncho or cloak from his shoulders, wraps it round the prostrate animal's head; he then forces into his mouth one of the powerful bridles of the country, straps a saddle on his back, and, bestriding him, removes the poncho; upon which, the astonished horse springs on his legs, and endeavours, by a thousand vain efforts, to disencumber himself of his new master, who sits composedly on his back, and, by a discipline which never fails, reduces the horse to such complete obedience, that he is soon trained to lend his speed and strength in the capture of his wild companions.

During the recent wars in this country, the lasso was used as a weapon of great power in the hands of the guassos, who make bold and useful troops, and never fail to dismount cavalry, or to throw down the horses of those who come within their reach. There is a well authenticated story of a party of eight or ten of these men, who had never seen a piece of artillery till one was fired at them in the streets of Buenos Ayres: they galloped fearlessly up to it, placed their lassos over the cannon, and, by their united strength, fairly overturned it. Another anecdote is related of them, which, though possible, does not rest on such good authority. A number of armed boats were sent to effect a landing at a certain point on the coast, guarded only by these horsemen. The party in the boats caring little for an enemy unprovided with fire-arms, rowed confidently along the shore. The guassos, meantime, were watching their opportunity; and the moment the boats came sufficiently near, dashed into the water, and, throwing their lassos round the necks of the officers, fairly dragged every one of them out of the boats.

The agriculture of Chili is at a low ebb. The chief of its products

ducts is wine of a very indifferent quality. So little advance has been made in the most common mechanic arts, that the business of a cooper is scarcely known. The wine is brought from the vineyards in skins, as in Spain; but from the ports, what little is shipped, is conveyed in large earthen jars; and, indeed, in the absence of casks, water for the use of the shipping equipped in Chili is preserved on board in similar vessels. The vines are planted about eight feet asunder, and run along upon low sticks placed crossways; they are pruned down to two or three of the knotty shoots of the last growth—nothing more is done to them; and, in consequence, the space below is covered with lucerne so abundantly, that a part of the grapes are deprived of sunshine, and absolutely choked by the grass and their own foliage. In consequence of this management, some of the grapes are rotten before others approach to ripeness; and, as all are gathered and trodden out together, the composition thus obtained is very unpleasant in flavour; and the best, after undergoing a forced fermentation, is thick, heady, and so unwholesome that seldom more than two or three glasses can be drank in a day without bad effects. From the grape a species of brandy is distilled, which nothing but the prevalent love of ardent spirit among sailors can make drinkable.

The wheat of Chili is remarkably fine, and its productiveness has been celebrated by Ovalle, Molina, and Ulloa. Mr. Schmidtmeier seems to have examined the subject with attention; and, though his inquiries give a result far short of the accounts of those authors, the increase much exceeds anything known in Europe: he estimates it at about twenty-five for one. They sow less than half the seed that is usually sown in England, because the corn plant spreads out into a large branch with many stems; so that the thinnest sowing is sufficient if the seed be good. Notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, it requires nearly as much time to bring the grain to maturity as in England or Germany. The failure of crops is by no means uncommon. The blight of one year will sometimes occasion the total loss of the crop in the next. On the brows of the mountains Mr. Schmidtmeier was told 'that the cultivator was satisfied if he got a tolerable crop out of two or three ploughed and sown for, though the others should not yield him anything.' He does not estimate the average produce of an acre of wheat at more than thirty-five or forty bushels. Maize is more cultivated, as being more productive than wheat, and as forming a preferable food to the greater portion of the inhabitants. Barley is grown chiefly as food for horses and mules. Oats are unknown, and some experiments for raising that grain seem to have failed. Cabbages and potatoes are abundantly cultivated, and especially capicum, which seems to form an indispensable article in all the culinary preparations of Chili. Oranges, lemons,

lemons, olives, and pomegranates, as well as peaches, apples, pears, and figs, are more or less grown in all the parts of this division of South America. Sheep are not much attended to; their wool is coarse, and their flesh not esteemed. Pigs and goats are to be met with, but not so generally as they probably would be if the feeding of horned cattle were not more easily conducted than providing subsistence for those animals. The ancient beasts of burden of South America, the guanacos, are still found in the Andes; but the horses, which have multiplied excessively since their introduction, have superseded the use of those animals; and all conveyance of goods, of every kind, is conducted on the backs of horses or mules. The coasts abound with fish, but in the abundance of beef, that species of food seems to be neglected; few fishing boats, or small-craft of any kind is to be seen on the coast of Chili.

The mining seems to afford the greatest occupation next to agriculture and breeding cattle. There was a period when the gold and silver mines yielded an annual quantity of their metals, to the amount of about 700,000 dollars. Mr. Schmidtmeier visited the once celebrated mines of Uspallata, where he found neither inhabitant nor habitation; 'the strokes of the miners,' he says, 'were not heard, and the mines are, I believe, totally abandoned.' The once productive mines of Tiltill are stated by the same gentleman to 'have been abandoned because of the accumulation of water;' and he adds, 'it was contemplated by some British settlers, to make the trial of a steam-engine, and again to work one of them.' The remarks of this traveller, when on his journey to Coquimbo and Guasco, may account for the declension in the produce of the mines of the precious metals.

'We were crossing a stream in a small lonely valley, when we heard the strokes of the mattock, and found an old man, a lavador, digging and washing for gold; but he did not appear thriving in his pursuit: no golden harvest shone on his ragged garments, nor was there any other indication of reward for the hard toils, of which his wrinkled weatherworn face and his exhausted body manifested the effects. I was told that these people, generally taken, seldom got more than a scanty daily subsistence. The hope of meeting with a *pepita*, or lump of gold, sustains the exertions of the *lavadores*.'

At present the greatest production of mineral wealth from Chili is copper, which is chiefly raised near Copiapo and the other northernmost districts near that town. Both Mr. Schmidtmeier and Captain Hall visited the copper works, and have described the rude process by which the metal is separated from the impurities with which it is found in the mines. It is, however, after all, far from clean, and undergoes a further purification in the countries to which it is exported, before it is fit for use, by which a loss of fourteen per

cent. in the weight is incurred. The labouring in copper mines is represented by these writers as the only branch of industry on the increase. Captain Hall says, 'the produce of copper in one year has lately risen to more than sixty thousand quintals, of one hundred Spanish pounds each. The greatest part of this goes to Calcutta, a small quantity to China, and the rest to the United States and Europe.' It is said, that veins of lead, iron, tin, and quicksilver have been discovered in the Andes; but as none of the mines have been worked, if their existence be a fact, the richness of the ore is unascertained: and whilst there are no roads in the country, no labourers to be employed, and no capital to pay them if there were, they are of little importance.

The manufactures of Chili are insignificant. A little wool and cotton is spun in a rude way, and afterwards woven into ponchos, a kind of blanket, with a hole in the middle, through which the head is thrust, which forms almost the universal dress of the inhabitants. Some utensils of clay are fabricated for domestic purposes, and Mrs. Graham praises both the form and texture of the pottery. The most extensive use to which it is applied is as a substitute for casks.

The commerce of Chili merits some detailed examination, because we think neither of the three writers under consideration has acted with perfect fairness to that class of British traders who are most liable to be seduced into injurious adventures. No trade can be beneficial longer than it is reciprocally so. If the surplus produce of a country be less than the value of the commodities sent to it, those who send them must necessarily experience a loss. Captain Hall and Mrs. Graham speak with apparent exultation of the number of British and North American vessels, with cargoes, that flock to the shores of South America; but they do not notice what sales have been made of those cargoes; nor (what, we think, they must have heard from the merchants with whom they mingled, though perhaps they may have forgotten it) the ruinous losses which attended their adventures. The same system of deception which has duped many British capitalists, under the name of loans, has tempted traders to send goods to Chili, far beyond the amount for which the commodities of the country can ever pay. We think, as much attachment to the interests of their countrymen as is discovered to revolutions in the abstract, might have drawn from these two authors some warning intimations to prevent evils in future, similar to those which are now actually and extensively experienced.

Before the attention of Chili was drawn from commerce to revolutions, before its capital was consumed by its convulsive efforts in distant invasion, and before its active population had been thinned by internal and external warfare, its trade, like that of other countries,

countries, was commensurate with its surplus productions and the wants of its inhabitants. It exchanged with Buenos Ayres the produce of its mines of gold and silver for the herb mattè, the tea of Paraguay, whose use was as general as that of the Chinese tea is in England. Since the mines were closed, and the intermediate districts convulsed, this branch of commerce has been nearly annihilated, and the mattè has so risen in price as to be only obtainable by the few whose property is not wholly dissipated. With Peru the trade from Chili consisted in exchanging wheat, jerked beef, hides, and tallow, for sugar, coffee, cotton, cocoa, and some European commodities. This trade has been also nearly annihilated since the wasting desolation to which the sea-coasts of Peru have been devoted. Occasionally a vessel arrived from Lima, in her way to Spain, by which the copper was transmitted to Europe. A contraband trade was carried on along the coast by English and North Americans; sometimes by vessels professing to be engaged in the whale fishery; or by others so strongly armed as to defy the revenue cruizers.

Since the revolution began, the ports having been opened to all the world, and exaggerated representations of the wealth of the country zealously circulated, ships from all nations have resorted to Chili with cargoes very far exceeding the wants of the country, and exceeding still more its capacity to furnish commodities to pay for them. According to Captain Hall, the copper amounted to 60,000 quintals, at thirteen dollars, or about 160,000*l.* sterling; the silver to 20,000 marks, or about 40,000*l.* This is the whole of the products with which to make payments for the prodigious quantities of goods poured into Chili from the various districts of Europe and North America. The consequence has been, that the foreign commodities have been reduced in price far below their cost in the countries from which they were brought, whilst the only commodity adapted for those countries, which Chili can furnish, has risen in similar proportion. Thus the Englishman who sends his goods to Chili loses by his sales, and again sustains a further loss in his returns. Captain Hall has given the former and present prices of several commodities, which sufficiently show the state of commerce. Of British goods it appears, that printed cottons, worth formerly from 18 to 24 reals, now sell from 2½ to 3 reals, or from 16 pence to 19 pence. Velveteens, which were at 26 reals, sell for 2 reals or 13 pence; and crockery-ware, which once sold for 350 reals the crate, now sells for 40 reals, or 21 shillings. We leave the English merchants and manufacturers to determine how heavy the loss to the shippers of such goods must be. The agricultural products of the country have suffered a similar diminution, since the vent for them in Peru has been closed. Thus wheat has fallen from

5 to 2½ reals; jerked beef, from 10 to 7 or 7½ reals; and tallow, from 8 to 6. The only commodity that has risen is copper.

We are advocates for freedom of trade in its fullest extent, and shall not suffer ourselves to be frightened from our advocacy by any of the evils which revolutions bring in their train. But when we are seriously told of a peasant being zealous for independence, because, by the freedom of trade which it has introduced, he buys his shirt cheaper than he did formerly, we must be allowed to hesitate before we admire his inductive powers. We must think that trade cannot be long beneficial to Chili, by which the countries with whom it trades are losers.

Much has been said of the monopolies by which, under the Spanish colonial system, European goods were rendered to the consumers at enormously high prices. We suspect those evils to have been over stated, and believe they arose more from the extent of capitals in classes of individuals, than from any regulations of the government. They more resembled the monopoly enjoyed by the brewers and distillers of London, than that which the laws have conferred, in the case of tea, on the East-India Company.

The situation of trade in Chili does not seem to be bettered by the introduction of this boasted freedom which the republicans have bestowed upon it. The same influence which was exercised by individual capitalists is now exerted by those at the head of affairs. According to Mrs. Graham (p. 275.), the minister and his partner are the great speculators; and, in anticipation of the new taxes which they were about to impose, 'in addition to the spirits and tobacco they long ago purchased with the government money, have now bought up the cottons, cloths, and other articles of clothing, and only their own agents are able to procure such for any customer. This,' she says, 'added to the want of a small coin, and the use of notes for three-pences, only payable, or rather exchangeable, for goods from their own shops, is a severe grievance.' When ministers of state are shopkeepers, their own shop is likely to be first considered; hence the whole import trade of Chili is confined to Valparayso, where, and at the capital, to which it is the port, the minister Rodriguez and his partner Arcas carry on their trade. But with a license from government, ships may go to Guasco and Coquimbo to load copper. Our system of permits on certain excisable commodities is certainly harassing as far as it extends; but Chilean legislators have extended that system to every commodity conveyed from one place to another. There are two classes of revenue officers, 'some stationary and some ambulatory; the latter are to be obeyed wherever they are met, on the hills, on the road, or out of it, in all weathers. They are to have a copper badge about the size of a crown-piece, which they are to wear concealed;

concealed; and yet if they stop a cargo in the midst of the wildest plain, or in the worst weather, that cargo must be opened, and is not to be removed till proper officers are fetched to watch it to the nearest station, to see whether it contains smuggled goods, or whether a piece of cotton runs a yard more or less than the manifest.'

Such is the account given by Mrs. Graham of some of the new regulations for trade, according to a decree issued for their improvement whilst that lady was at Valparayso. Mr. Schmidtneyer notices the regulations in actual practice, previously to the promulgation of this improved edition of them.

'The inward duties levied on most articles of foreign manufacture amount to about a third part of the arbitrary value set on them by the officers of the custom-house. I had an opportunity of witnessing the trouble and delay which attended the mere transfer of some goods purchased in Santiago, destined for a shop in the country, in which case a small inland duty is paid. Every article, however trifling, was put down, with its measure, and the whole made up a little book: the officers examined each of them separately, and fixed their value on it: this tedious operation ended, for which whole days were required, and the small duty paid, a *guia*, or permit, was granted, without which the goods would have been liable to seizure on the road.'

The trading partnership between the prime minister and the nephew of the archbishop seems to have hit upon various expedients for bringing custom to their shop. When after many and long delays the seamen of the squadron came to receive their wages, 'they were paid in bills of twenty-five dollars; four only of which they could get silver for, the rest they were compelled to expend in clothes at the shops set up for that purpose by the minister's partner at Valparayso.' (Graham, p. 317.) From the same authority we learn, that when Lord Cochrane returned to Valparayso from Lima, having a claim to a house on shore, an order was sent to the governor of the former place to provide one: 'the governor consequently pitched on one of the most commodious in the port, and sent an order to Mr. C——, an Englishman, to remove with his family, and to leave it furnished for the admiral.' Lord Cochrane had not so far divested himself of all English feeling by his connection with this land of liberty, as to avail himself of the power of the government, and would not allow Mr. C—— to move.

We have dwelt at greater length on this subject than its importance may seem to merit, because it is the freedom of trade in which, according to the views of Captain Hall and Mrs. Graham, the great benefit of the revolution is to be felt. In every part of those dominions of South America which once belonged to Spain, the impolitic restraints on trade, which formerly existed, have not only been

been continued by the present rulers, but have been strengthened and enforced with greater severity than before. We cannot, therefore, give to the assumption of these writers,—an assumption in direct opposition to the existing facts,—that implicit faith which prophetic politicians seem always to claim for their predictions. We see no reason to conclude that, because when Spanish ships could no longer enter their ports, those of other nations, on paying most exorbitant duties, were permitted to do so, the successive rulers of that country will feel it their interest to give to commerce more freedom than may appear to them to suit their own party or personal advantage.

We see no greater reason to expect that more regard will be paid to the security of the property of individuals in future, than the South American revolutionists have hitherto afforded it. The possession of such wealth as could be easily made available to public purposes, has not directed the cupidity of the successive governors to the same kinds of confiscation that were practised in France, and recently attempted in Spain, by the Jacobins in the one and the Liberals in the other country. The spoils of the church in America presented no temptation; it would only have brought to their treasuries land for which there were no purchasers; but the capitalists of the country, the old Spaniards, offered a booty worth seizing. All of them were in succession stripped of the wealth which they possessed, and in many instances they were first either secretly or openly put to death, without even the shadow of a trial. The few who escaped with life, endured long imprisonment, and were literally reduced to beggary. These men were not only possessed of the capital, but of what intellect and commercial integrity was to be found in those countries. Captain Hall, who may always be trusted when he does not predict, says of them:—

‘ They undoubtedly are far better informed men, more industrious, and more highly bred, than the natives in general. As merchants, they are active, enterprising, and honourable in their dealings. It is only on the national question between them and the natives that they are illiberal; towards those with whom they have business to transact, they are always fair and reasonable. They are much less tainted with bigotry than the natives; they are men, taken generally, of pleasing conversation and manners, and habitually obliging to all; and when not pressed by immoderate danger and difficulties, especially so to strangers; for, notwithstanding their habitual jealousy, their prejudices never interfere with their cordial hospitality, and even generosity to all foreigners who treat them with frankness and confidence.’

Such is the character given of the capitalists of Spanish America by Captain Hall, the avowed enemy of their political party. Now on what reasonable grounds can free trade, or any trade, be expected,

pected, when the capitals that were to furnish productions are dissipated by patriotic robbers? or when the integrity and intellect, equally necessary, are banished by the furious excitements communicated to a savage population under the hollow pretences of liberty, equality, and independence? We see, with this gallant officer, 'nothing in this revolutionary drama, that is acted to the life, but the cruelty and the sorrow.'

We have long and ardently wished to see the dominions of Spain in the western world independent of her absolute power, and flourishing under free governments. We have watched with anxious attention every step that has been taken from the moment when, by the folly and fears of the Cortes of Cadiz, those dominions were compelled to plunge into anarchy, and thus, step by step, to become the dupes and the victims of those pretended patriots who were most profuse in flattering the selfish passions of the lowest of their ignorant population. We have marked their course through the several stages of their progress: anarchy began, the reign of terror quickly succeeded, military despotism next followed, and convulsive efforts were attended with splendid but destructive success; and now, deprived of resources, exhausted by exertions beyond the strength of nature, they have become the easy prey of any adventurer who, like Freire in Chili, or the present leader in Buenos Ayres, has sufficient skill to keep together a banditti, under the name of an army, that can compel the countries, from their scanty means, to yield them support.

We have been speaking of South America, for we still entertain hopes, though by no means sanguine hopes, that a better fate may be reserved for Mexico and Guatemala. The first of those countries, though dreadfully torn by the internal convulsions which raged from 1810 to 1815, has enjoyed a comparative degree of repose for eight years. The same kind of plunder and confiscation has not been practised there as was exercised in Caraccas, Buenos Ayres, Peru, and Chili. The Spanish capitalists, under the protection which Iturbide afforded them as far as he could, either withdrew their funds with their persons, or if they remained, were allowed to enjoy it with little molestation; and we believe not a single individual was executed, and few imprisoned, merely because they were rich, and could by extortion be made to yield money to the state. That country declared itself independent of Spain too, at a period when the fallacy of the wild theories of democracy had been extensively exposed in all their hollowness and egotism. Guatemala has suffered less from internal convulsion than Mexico, and though it withdrew from the connection with that country on the abdication of Iturbide, it may be again united with it. If that should be the case, the revolutionary spirit, which requires constant

war

war for its aliment, will have nothing to feed upon. It is too remote from other countries to tempt their adventurers to attack them, or to excite that hope of plunder by which the revolutionists have been enabled to lead the rude population of the several divisions of South America to invade each other. If there be in Mexico and Guatimala sufficient common sense and good feeling to create and support a real and efficient executive government—a government not wavering with every breath of popular agitation; if confidence be established for the personal security of each individual; if some sufficient check be placed on extravagant expenditure, and on the contributions to the public treasury, as well as on the mode of levying them, no hostile attacks from Spain can annoy them extensively. If, however, a civil war cannot be prevented, if the different provinces arm against each other, if the disorganizing principles of democracy should be diffused through that savage population, and one demagogue succeed to another in urging them on to their ruin, the soberer part of the people may prefer even the government of Spain to a state of anarchy; and thus they may again fall under that heavy yoke from which they are at present freed.

The revolution in Chili has followed with so much regularity the common routine of such calamities, that there is little difference, except in the names of the actors, between it and that of St. Domingo, of Buenos Ayres, of Columbia, and the other countries which have suffered from the operation. Men, of influence from their wealth, but of slight mental powers, were urged to take the first lead, and having kindled the ferment, those who prompted them to act, having more energy and no restraining moral principle, soon consigned them to insignificance. Of this description was the family of the Carreras, who for a short time, till the executioner dismissed them in succession to another world, held the supreme command. Mrs. Graham has drawn the character of the most prominent member of this factious family, and as we think it will suit that of most of those who have figured in a similar way as, *par excellence*, the friends of liberty, we give it in her own words:

“Don Jose Miguel Carrera, of an ancient Creole family, was possessed of great advantages of person, natural intelligence, and many qualities of a higher class, but was uneducated and wild. In early life, like the heroes of Molière's comedies, he had recourse to all sorts of petty and entertaining roguery, to raise money to supply his private, and not always innocent, expenses; till at length one of these expedients encroached so largely on the fortune of an uncle, that his father sent him to Spain, where he entered the army. There is a dark story of an Indian being murdered while defending the honour of his wife or daughter, which his enemies talk loudly of, and his friends know to be

too

too consonant to his habits not to fear it true. He imbibed in Spain a spirit of enthusiasm, and a knowledge of partisan or guerrilla warfare; and he returned to Chile with no profit but a wish to join in the struggle for independence, and no desire but to imitate Napoleon—to profit by what had been done by others, and to possess the country, and raise his family to a rank hitherto unequalled there.*

In this biographical sketch we see the regular process by which the characters of revolutionary leaders are formed. In youth, dissipation, cunning, swindling, and want of filial affection, constitute the first step; then violation of female honour, and murder; then guerrilla warfare and its vulgar enthusiasm; then selfishness, under the guise of patriotism; next the acquisition of popular applause and of supreme command; and then, on a small vibration of the scale of fortune, banishment and distress; and finally, as in this instance, the scene closes by the hand of the executioner. After the fall of the Carrera family, consisting of several brothers, who all came to an untimely end, a series of successful operations took place by which the Spanish forces were completely annihilated. General San Martin, whose early history is hid in obscurity, having the army at his disposal, placed O'Higgins, the reputed natural son, by an Indian female, of an Irishman who had been governor-general under the Spanish monarch, at the head of affairs. Under his Protectorship, for such was the title which he assumed, the expedition to ruin Peru was undertaken. A fleet was manned with the refuse of all nations, except Chilenos, which rivalled the actions of their predecessors, the buccaneers, and as far as the object of spreading desolation in Peru was concerned, was eminently successful. It has terminated by making that country the theatre of sufferings, whose effects are only mitigated by want of materials to feed it, and by the destruction of the force which inflicted the evils. Neither navy nor army remains to Chili, nor the means to collect either, should the country be again assailed. The few troops that were left to defend the southern frontier against the incursions of the Arucanian Indians, were induced to revolt by their chief, Freire; and he led this handful of men to the capital, where the complaisant protector, with his little senate, allowed him to assume the supreme command. Thus another military chief has risen to rule over a country more afflicted by the hands of its own unprincipled and ambitious chiefs, than by the tremendous earthquake which has levelled its habitations in the dust.

As the fleet of Chili was conducted by an Englishman, though under the orders of the commander of the land forces, and as almost the whole of the efficient seamen were either British or North Americans, it is not wonderful that its achievements should have been of a character to excite terror in the ill disciplined and feebly

feebly commanded navy of Spain. The operation of cutting out armed ships from under powerful batteries had been indeed very generally attempted, and had most commonly been crowned with success, during the latter years of the long war which raged in Europe. The Spaniards on board the *Esmeralda* must have kept a most negligent watch, as the first intelligence of the attack seems to have been the meeting of the parties who had boarded her on different sides, on her quarter-deck. After a desperate but confused resistance, the ship was carried, and removed beyond the reach of the batteries, before those who ought to have directed them had acquired sufficient calmness to point their guns with any effect. The moral influence of this gallant operation, an operation which discovered both skill and courage in Lord Cochrane, was far beyond what could have been produced by an action of equally successful result on the open sea; and we cannot but think that the prompt and decisive conduct of the naval part of the armament forms a contrast not to the advantage of the commander-in-chief who personally led the land part of it.

When by the united efforts of the army and navy the great object of plunder was in some measure attained by the surrender of Lima, we are not surprized that the commanders of the two arms should quarrel about the division of it; or that one should accuse the other, when they had both been disappointed in its amount. Without offering any opinion on the relative demerits of the combatants, each of whom treats the other as the vilest of culprits, we may give the outline of the charges reciprocally produced.

The secretary of state, Monteagudo, in a letter to Lord Cochrane, dated 3d October, 1821, after relating several scandalous transactions, which he affects to pass over, accuses him in the most direct manner with having levied contributions on the merchants trading on the coast, without authority; and with giving passports to places blockaded by order of the government, by which his lordship alone profited. There is something so whimsical in the style in which the secretary addresses the noble culprit, that we must amuse our readers with a few literal extracts.

“Your excellency has sent the ships of the squadron, against the positive order of the commander-in-chief, to places and objects in opposition to his plans. Your excellency disarmed the Pueyredon against the wish of the government of Chile, and took possession of the prize which that vessel had just made, in spite of the orders that were communicated to you, and the claims made by the captain premier. Your excellency caused to be stolen the medicines of the army in Huara, ordering Captain Crosby, with an armed force, to break open the doors of the room in which they were deposited. Your excellency gave passports to the prisoners of the Lord Lyndock for the contemptible consideration

deration of the money that you have received from them. Your excellency has possessed yourself of the private property on board the *Laura*, and you have opened the public correspondence which she brought from Chile. Your excellency has deposed various captains without the forms prescribed by the articles of war, substituting for well deserving officers others who were unworthy, and who had no other recommendation than that of being entirely devoted to your interest. Your excellency has taken of the property of government, monies which exceed double of its debt to the squadron; and notwithstanding you have not returned the money of private individuals, exposing many to almost certain ruin of their fortunes, and proving in this your bad faith; since otherwise you would have returned a surplus, as your pretext for surprizing it was to pay the squadron.'

The other charges are promoting insurrection in the fleet—negotiating treacherously with the enemy—slandering the governments of Chili and Peru—and disobedience of orders—for all of which San Martin would have before exposed him, but from consideration for 'the military life of the accused, and his character as a general of the state of Chile.'

It is rather singular that Mrs. Graham, as the professed advocate of Lord Cochrane, and who has not been sparing in the letter-press of her Appendix, should have omitted to favour the public with the charges and counter-charges thus brought by the general and the admiral against each other; more especially as she represents herself as being employed in printing, whilst in Chile, the composition of the latter, and speaks of it with no slight complacency. Whoever has seen, and happens to recollect, Lord Cochrane's address to Lord Ellenborough, published after his trial, will be able to conceive the kind of answer which he would give to the charges brought against him. In his letter to this ex-protector of Peru, dated 19th November, 1822, instead of refuting his accusations, he assumes the office of accuser; and with every vituperative epithet that language could furnish, charges his late commander, Don Jose de San Martin, with being 'a liar, a coward, a cheat, a robber, a hypocrite, and a murderer.' These charges, in a paper of forty pages, are reiterated, varied, and pertinaciously maintained. As a specimen we quote a passage from a production, the whole of which would form a valuable study for one who felt either delight or disgust in the contemplation of revolutionary heroes.

'My plan,' says Lord Cochrane, 'was, on the capture of Lima, that one half of the Spaniards property should be taken, leaving them the remainder; your plan, after assuring them of protection, and selling them letters of citizenship, was to take the whole, and banish their persons; and accordingly, after you had obtained half their property as the price of their permission to embark the other half, you caused the remainder to be seized, and hundreds of the miserable owners to be crammed

crammed into the prison-ship Melagro, where your soldiers on guard completed the work of deprivation. Some of the old men who were piteously dragged from their homes and imprisoned, some crowded in the ship just mentioned and some in another, in order to be transported to Chile, died of grief and ill usage; but those who died, and those who were murdered on their passage under a most questionable pretence of intended resistance, cannot in this world bear testimony to these atrocities; but of those who survived and were brought to Chile, some yet live as witnesses of their truth.

It is not for us to settle the point of precedence between these two heroes. The whole correspondence brings to our mind a tale of Franklin's. Two men who had been most violently accusing each other of villany, at length appealed to him. 'I am no judge of the matters in question,' said he, 'but you seem to know each other.'

ART. VIII.—*Aspersions Answered: an Explanatory Statement, addressed to the Public at large, and to every Reader of the Quarterly Review in particular.* By W. Hone. 8vo. pp. 68. London. 1824.

INFIDELITY is not so good a trade as it was four or five years ago. When men's pockets were empty, their tempers were soured, and their ears open to every evil suggestion. But with the improvement of their resources, there has occurred the natural improvement of their dispositions, and the radical and deist are left to bewail the loss of their auditors and admirers. To relieve himself from this distressing situation, Mr. Hone has published a pamphlet, announcing that his character has been quite mistaken, that he is a very sound Christian, and that, in his opinion, 'Christianity is a pure principle—a mental illumination, &c. &c.' To prove the purity of his faith, he thinks it necessary to show that the Apocryphal New Testament, (published for him,) the base and disgraceful falsehoods of which we exposed nearly three years ago, was not written with any bad intentions against the Christian religion, and that we wilfully misrepresented its design and execution. Having said that the pamphlet before us is published by this notorious person, and put together by himself, or one of his party, we need not add that it is written in a spirit of the most vulgar and contemptible ferocity. The nature of such men cannot be mistaken, and it would be as unjust towards them, as it would be degrading towards ourselves, to feel either wonder or anger at their using the dialect and style to which they are habituated. The time happily appears so distant at which dispositions like these can hope for the same freedom of action, as of words, that the implied menace at the conclusion

clusion of the tirade, towards the individual supposed to be the writer of the article on the Apocryphal New Testament, is simply ludicrous. Hardly less absurd are the reproaches directed against him for concealing his name under the shelter of a Review. The exposure of a bold bad man, and the detection of ignorance and falsehood, are actions which can cause no shame, and require no concealment: but it is well worthy of the sagacity of this pamphleteer, to accuse his adversary of aiming at notoriety, and hunting after church preferment, and yet of endeavouring to throw a cloak of secrecy round his name and actions!

Mr. Hone, it may be remembered, advertised an answer to our Article immediately after its publication, and continued for some time to do so; but that answer never appeared. The allegations of dishonesty which we brought were such as to cast some discredit, we presume, on the editor of the Apocryphal New Testament, even among his own coterie, *οἱ ἀμφὶ Ωνον*—and a more worthless crew never sold themselves to work wickedness—and it was judged necessary to make a show of resistance. But it was not quite clear at that time which way the tide of public affairs and opinions would set, and therefore it was not prudent for Mr. Hone to commit himself farther, or more decisively. Had the evil spirit so long prevalent increased, or had it not received a decided check, we should have heard no more of Mr. Hone's Christianity, or our malignity; but we should probably have received his thanks for so clearly establishing his claim to the character of an anti-Christian writer. Of his intentions at the time when the Apocryphal New Testament was published, besides the whole tone of the work and the general system of falsehood pursued, its very form (which, we presume, was designed to caricature the Gospels of the New Testament) and the manner in which the publication was hailed by the Liberal Party, were sufficient proofs. We shall not disgust our readers by repeating Sir Richard Phillips's nauseating praises of it; it is sufficient to say that he prophesied it would soon be bound up with the real Scriptures, and be the subject of pious discourses and commentaries! and that another Magazine (once far more respectable than his) ventured, after a deal of more odious trash, to say that it was even 'affirmed that from St. Matthew's Gospel it could be shown, that he recognized' one of the most infamous of the forged gospels as genuine!

We notice this pamphlet, not because such accusations as it brings against us require any answer, but because their dishonesty will more clearly fix the character of the party concerned in the production of the Apocryphal New Testament; and because we think that an useful lesson may be derived to the half-learned readers of infidel writings, from the extraordinary degree

of ignorance which the editor of that work is compelled to confess, in order to escape from the heavier charges of falsehood and dishonesty. One great accusation brought by the pamphleteer against us (in common with others) is, that we have basely attacked the literary reputation of Mr. Hone, by our assertion that, contemptible as was the execution of the Apocryphal New Testament, that worthy person neither was, nor is capable of being the editor of it. Even this charge the pamphleteer cannot state with any regard to truth. In page 15, he says, 'He (the Quarterly Reviewer) informs his readers that I (Hone) am a poor illiterate creature, far too ignorant to have any share in the composition of the work.' We knew nothing of Mr. Hone beyond his publications; Heaven forbid we should! we wrote professedly as knowing nothing; we 'informed' our readers of nothing whatever on our own knowledge. The passage which he garbles is this: 'He (Hone) is represented to us as a poor illiterate creature, &c.' What words could be chosen to express more distinctly that we spoke from the information of others, not from any personal knowledge of Mr. Hone's capacity or incapacity? The statement we gave was and is generally credited; nay, in this very pamphlet, (p. 50) grievous complaint is made of Archdeacon Butler for actually alluding to an individual as the *real* editor. The only authority on the other side is the assertion of this falsifying pamphleteer; we prefer that of common rumour; she cannot be convicted of fouler mendacity than he will presently be. The matter is, however, one of perfect indifference; if it be true that Mr. Hone was the editor of the Apocryphal New Testament, the only difference in his demerits is, that, instead of paying others for inventing and propagating falsehood, he performed that meritorious work, *proprio Marte*. We have no doubt that the editor and the Pamphleteer are the same person; the similarity of their styles of equivocation and juggle is a strong proof of their identity.

The next charge (page 19) is that we reproached him for having produced, for his own purposes, some wretched forgeries ascribed to St. Jerome, as genuine, when Fabricius had clearly exposed the imposture. This clear logician thinks that he has convicted us here of wilful falsehood, for, says he, 'I cannot read Latin, and could not therefore know what Fabricius said.' Unless we were to know, by divination, that a person who undertook such a publication as the Apocryphal New Testament, was incapable of even reading the *collections** on the same subject, how are we liable to any accusation of falsehood? But he goes on. 'If the Re-

* The Pamphleteer, sagely imagining that Fabricius's is an original work, accuses us here of inconsistency in saying that he had read it, and yet that he had not had recourse to any original source of information!

viewer exults upon this declaration,' (that he cannot read Latin,) 'it will be the unsanctified triumph of malignity over misfortune.' Does this man really suppose that there is one human being to whom Mr. Hone's ignorance or knowledge can give either pleasure or pain? But the impudence of this defence is really beyond belief. Fabricius is quoted in the Apocryphal New Testament, as often as it suits the purposes of the flagitious editor, without a hint that that veracious personage was unable to consult him; and it is too much, even for him, when accused of concealing the statements made in a book quoted by himself whenever it suited him as authority, to defend himself by retiring on his own inability to read it.

We are amazed at the audacity of his next charge. He ventures, in the most outrageous terms, to revile us for saying that Jones subscribes to the opinions of other scholars as to the imposture practised about these very forgeries, and to accuse us of absolute falsehood. Let us hear Jones's own words. He wishes to show, that the Gospel of the birth of Mary was commonly ascribed to St. Matthew, and considering these forgeries as *old*, he refers to them for that point. 'I know, indeed,' says he, (vol. ii. p. 132.) 'that learned men have generally agreed to reject these epistles as not being Jerome's. Thus Sixtus Senensis, Coke, Rivet, Cave, and others of this sort of writers, to whom, if I should in this point subscribe, yet, as I dare venture to say the letters are very ancient, so it is not likely that the author of them would venture on a forgery of such a fact in which every one would be able to confute him.' Thus our readers will see, that not only does Jones assent, but that we were careful to express his assent in his own phrase. Indeed, we are well assured, that, as far as we are concerned, no defence can be necessary; but it is necessary to expose the impudent falsification of Mr. Hone, or his pamphleteer. This phrase occurs in the very part of Jones's work from which the editor of the Apocryphal New Testament has garbled his account of the gospel of Mary; so that he must have seen it a thousand times, both before his first publication, and before this pamphlet in which he dares to conceal the passage, and then to ground an accusation of falsehood against us, on an inconsistency in Jones. Having found an express declaration from that writer on the point, we certainly did not suspect that, in another part of the work, not connected with the gospel of Mary, he varied somewhat from his former opinion. All, however, that Jones says in a passage which Mr. Hone has now found, and on which he builds his charge of falsehood against us, is, that the letters may certainly be spurious; but that he does not see the evidence of their forgery in so clear a light as the writers above alluded to. But, on closer inspection, it appears that subsequently Jones reverted to his first opinion; for still

farther on, (vol. ii. p. 165.) he again treats the letters as a forgery, citing one of them in these words: 'the author of the *Epistle under the name of Jerome*.' What will now be thought of this wretched pamphleteer, who, having before his eyes the very passage which we quoted, chooses to overlook it, and to accuse us of falsehood, instead of charging Jones with inconsistency?

His next attack is, if possible, more disgracefully false. We stated that the old Gospel of Mary had disappeared, and that the present was the miserable forgery of a later age; and we complained that the editor, though clearly aware of this, only said, that 'the ancient copies differed' from the present, a general expression borrowed from Jones, while he carefully avoided subjoining Jones's explanation on the matter. Will it be believed, that this pamphlet writer ventures to declare, that Jones gives no explanation, when, in the very next page of Jones's work, that writer says, not that there is a trifling variation in the old and present copies, as his expression might appear to denote, and as the editor wished to insinuate, but—distinctly, '*The ancient and present copies are not the same*, which is further evident from the manifest contradiction which I have observed between them'. Will it, we repeat, be believed, that any one, we will not say of common honesty, (for that is out of the question,) but of common sense, would venture to accuse us of falsehood for saying that Jones explained his general expression, when this explanation was before his eyes?

The Pamphleteer proceeds to revile us for assigning to St. Jerome, whom he calls our favourite father, his usual title; and follows up his abuse with an extract from Beausobre, on the folly of calling any writers saints, and with four or five pages of vulgarity against St. Jerome in particular. That father will not suffer much, we apprehend, from such an assailant; and with regard to ourselves, we said not a word in praise of Jerome. We mentioned him six or eight times, and omitted to give him his usual title except twice, (so well founded are the Pamphleteer's accusations!) We said that he was not so weak as to make one clause of a sentence, or one half of a letter, directly contradict the other; and that a writer of such acknowledged purity and beauty of style would not have introduced the grossest barbarisms into his Latin. But this sagacious Pamphleteer (from internal consciousness, we presume, of the fact) concludes, that a bad man must be a weak one; and that as St. Jerome was, according to his account, capable of bad actions, he was consequently capable of bad writing, and very likely to be foolish enough to produce, as a lost work, a forgery of his own, openly contradicting the only existing remains of the work in question.

The Pamphleteer pleads guilty to the next piece of dishonesty, of

of which we accused the editor of the Apocryphal New Testament. To patch up the credit of one of his forged gospels, he said, that it was frequently mentioned by the ancient fathers; and that 'their expressions indicate that it had obtained a very general credit in the Christian world.' We demonstrated that he had dishonestly perverted one of Jones's statements, that some of the stories adopted by the author of this gospel were in general circulation, and credited by the Fathers. Jones's statement is perfectly clear; yet Mr. Hone says, he was led into his falsehood by Jones, and that he did not comprehend that writer's meaning. If such a statement were correct, how can a man incapable of comprehending the plainest statements, in the plainest language, presume to write on religious subjects?

We examined only two of the prefaces to the Gospels, observing that the proofs of dishonest intention thus exhibited were so clear, it was unnecessary to press any further inquiry into the system of falsehood pursued by the editor. The Pamphleteer now declares, that beyond the parts which we exposed, there remain only (p. 33) the Epistles published by Wake; and he accuses us of artfully concealing this fact, and thus trying to represent the last part of his book as equally noxious with the first, while in fact it only contained what had been already published by an archbishop. This very pamphlet enumerates (besides the Gospels we examined) as the contents of the Apocryphal New Testament,

The first Gospel of the Infancy,

The second ditto,

Epistles of Christ and Abgarus,

Gospel of Nicodemus,

Apostles' Creed in its ancient state,

Ditto in its present,

Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans,

Paul and Seneca's Epistles,

Acts of Paul and Thecla!

Is this poor creature bereft of all his senses?

As he defends himself from one charge of falsehood by alleging that he had not comprehension enough to ascertain Jones's meaning, so he endeavours (p. 34) to rebut another, by pretending that he mistook Mosheim. He says in his preface, 'after the writings contained in the New Testament were selected from the numerous gospels and epistles then in existence, what became of the books rejected by the compilers?' Our remark was:

The objects of this question are—to bespeak a favourable hearing for these writings, whose authenticity, it is insinuated, was deemed worthy of consideration, at least, by the compilers of the New Testament; and to inspire suspicion of the canonical writings, which, according to

this account, rest for their credit on the authority of compilers of a late age.

In answer to the first charge, the Pamphleteer produces a passage from Mosheim, stating that the sacred writings were *carefully separated* from human compositions on the same subjects; and says, in his elegant phraseology, that 'he took "careful separation" to mean "selection."' It is curious that the mistakes of this simple hearted and honest personage should invariably be on his own side. In reply to the second remark, he says, 'According to what "account?" Not to any "account" of mine, for I gave no "account." The word is wholly unwarranted.' To answer such idle stuff, and say that the account is implied in the question, or that the word *question* may be used instead of *account*, if the Pamphleteer prefers it, would be to talk to an infant or an idiot.

Last of all, the Pamphleteer accuses us of quoting from his preface words not in it. The juggle by which this impudent falsehood is glossed over is well worthy of the editor of the Apocryphal New Testament. Before taking the slightest notice of Mr. Hone's publication, or even alluding to its general character, we gave a detailed account, in five or six pages, of the several infidel objections to the canon of the New Testament; and pointed out the method in which they were brought forward, and in which the arguments founded on them were stated. We incidentally noticed also, that one of these was revived in the preface to the Apocryphal New Testament. We then explained what the nature of it was, and proceeded to state it thus: "The whole story," it is insinuated, "may be an imposture," &c. The Pamphleteer attempts to say, that we quoted these words as his. It will, we think, hardly be credited that we do not commence our notice of the Apocryphal New Testament for several pages after this passage; and then, after giving its general character, distinctly say, 'We shall now proceed to a more minute investigation of the contents of this volume,' and immediately commence with a discussion of the falsehoods in the *Preface*! The Pamphleteer sets out with saying, (p. 14.) that he shall examine our charges 'in the order most convenient to himself.' He found that the 'most convenient order,' with respect to this charge, was to place it at the end of his defence, after examining many passages in which we had actually quoted his words; and thus to induce his readers to suppose that we might have wished to appear to do so in the part in question: and that the 'most convenient' artifice was to conceal that his extract was made from the *commencement* of our Article in which we are not occupied with the Apocryphal New Testament at all!

We have gone through the Pamphleteer's text, and shall now examine his notes. He wishes first to accuse us of following his example

example in quoting works we have never seen, and blundering between Fabricius's works on the *Old* and *New Testament*; a charge which would be unworthy of notice, except as exposing the Pamphleteer's dishonesty. After Toland's book appeared, Fabricius replied to it, as every one knows, in his work containing the forged gospels, &c.; and he, several years afterwards, published a similar work with regard to the *Old Testament*. One of these works was called *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*; the other, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*. By some accident our copy of the first work is lettered, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Novi Testamenti*; and we freely confess that we erred as to the *title*, but not, as the Pamphleteer well knows, though he dishonestly conceals it, *as to the work itself*; for we cite the book which we said was published against Toland all through our Article, and we cite it with a specific reference to volume and page, under the *same title* of *Codex Pseudepigraphus*. The nature of our error is therefore beyond all question. But this poor creature contradicts in one page what he had asserted in another, for (in his note, p. 34) he says, that (like himself) we 'got all the information in our Article from Jones.' On referring to Jones, we find that he is never guilty of our mistake, but cites Fabricius's work by its right title. One of the Pamphleteer's accusations then, if he had sense enough to see it, negatives the other.

The last of this wretched man's follies which we shall notice, arises from an obvious, but trifling, error of the press. We gave, in a note, a very curious instance of Toland's ignorance, on the authority of a MS. book of an old and respectable clergyman, who received it from another clergyman, Mr. Welby, and Mr. Welby from an ear-witness, Gale, the anabaptist. By an error of the press, the mark of quotation (') is omitted; so that the MS. which actually, having referred to Mr. Welby, uses his words, appears to go on in its own, and thus afterwards to refer to Gale, instead of Mr. Welby's doing so. Any one who reads the story would see that some error of this sort had arisen; but instead of this trifling instance of candour in a circumstance not relating to himself, (though to be sure an attack on any of the fraternity of infidels may be unpardonable,) the Pamphleteer tells us that the old and respectable clergyman must have been fibbing; and that the story which we said was in a MS. *before* us, might as well have been *behind* us. This specimen of the taste and delicacy of this amiable person will, we judge, be sufficient.

He omits all notice of our other charges, though, with his usual unblushing effrontery, he declares that he has answered them all, or evades them in the most pitiful manner. When we accuse the editor of saying that *several* Christian sects received a writing

as genuine, though only two, the Gnostics and Manichæans, infamous for their forgeries and corruptions of scripture, could be adduced, he sinks the character of the sects, and covers his falsehood by saying that the Gnostics were divided into many different parties! When we accuse him of stealing one half of his book from Jones, without intimating the existence of that writer's work, he says that he never denied the fact to *personal inquirers*! When we charge him with disingenuously mixing the history of Christ's descent into hell, as referred to in the Creed, with the silly stories on the same subject, in one of the spurious gospels, he tells us that he referred to that gospel only for *apocryphal* particulars, although his note consisted of these words: 'For large particulars of *Christ's descent into hell*, see the gospel of Nicodemus;' and was appended, without another word, to a passage referring to the statement of Christ's descent in the Creed! And above all, when we convict him of mistaking the notorious Faustus, the Manichæan, for a Provençal bishop; and, in the plenitude of his own ignorance, bestowing commendations on the learning of a person remarkable for the want of it; and of whom he now confesses he knew so little as to be compelled, as we guessed, to refer to a common Biographical Dictionary; he replies, that this is no error in divinity, but in ecclesiastical history!

We have now done with this miserable man's accusations of us. But it is curious to take the side of the question favourable to him, and laying aside the charge of dishonesty, to observe to how heavy an accusation of incapacity, in order to escape more serious charges, he is compelled to plead guilty. Let the buyers and encouragers of blasphemy learn on what authority they build their faith. Let them remember that this man attempted to destroy or weaken the evidence for the canon of scripture; and that he talked of its constitution, and of ecclesiastical history and writers, at the time when he imagined that constitution took place, with the most perfect assurance. Let them hear him confessing (p. 31) that he stated one falsehood from inability to understand Jones, and insinuated another (p. 35) from not comprehending Mosheim. Let them listen to his avowal (p. 33. note) that although from Jones he took a large part of his work, he had never taken the trouble to read the book itself! (p. 58.)—that of ecclesiastical history (p. 55) he knew nothing or next to nothing, save from Jortin, and dipping into Eusebius and the Lives of the Saints! and that until the appearance of our Article, he had not read (what he now seems to think the first of all performances) even Michaelis or Lardner! Let them finally hear this reasoner about the canon, compelled to avow (p. 58.) that he was erring in his arguments on the subject, because, of all absurd imaginations, he chose to imagine that the canon

canon was settled at the council of Nice! The wretched book, by which he attempted to pervert the faith and destroy the happiness of countless thousands, was (p. 56) 'most hastily done,' by his own avowal; nay, finished from first to last in six weeks (p. 58)—and the whole preface, that monstrous compound of ignorance, sophistry, and falsehood, was 'hurried together' (p. 57) at a watering-place, at the last moment, and (p. 58) '*remote from all books*, with only a transcript or two from Jortin, Mosheim, and Porson, thrust into the editor's pocket on leaving town!' Such are the profound works by which the faith of the ignorant is to be perverted—such are the industry and learning of the infidel writers of this enlightened age! We deem it no small triumph to have forced such avowals from one of the foremost of the party—for, ready as the half-learned always are to receive any thing which tends to lower what the wise and the learned regard with reverence, they surely cannot be blind, after this exposure, to the delusions practised upon them; they will surely pause before they again surrender their belief to the demands of ignorance and baseness, under the mask of knowledge and virtue.

ART. IX.—*Histoire de l'Egypte, sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly, ou Récit des Evénemens politiques et militaires, qui ont eu lieu depuis le Départ des Français jusqu'en 1823.* Par M. Félix Mengin; ouvrage enrichi de Notes par MM. Langlès et Jomard; et précédé d'une Introduction historique par M. Agoub. A Paris. 1823.

THE expulsion of the French from Egypt was an occurrence for which, though they will not allow to England any share in it, they will never forgive her. As in the greatest misfortunes, however, men are apt to seek for, and generally find, some alleviation, so, for the heavy disappointment sustained in not being able, as was intended, to make Egypt a dependent colony of France, they have experienced no little consolation in boldly asserting, that, in the first place, it was not the British arms that drove them out; and in the second, that the loss of a valuable colony has been compensated by the gain of a great book. The national feeling on this tender subject is thus expressed by M. Agoub, one of the coadjutors of M. Mengin.

'An event for ever memorable, and one which would have regenerated Egypt, was without contradiction, the expedition of the French. Had it not been for the sudden departure of Buonaparte, the assassination of Kleber, and the stupidity of Menou, that country would now be a province of France. These causes, far more than the combined efforts of England and the Porte, made the enterprize miscarry. But if policy saw its hopes annihilated, the arts at least preserved their trophies;

trophies; the different elements were already collected, which were to form the magnificent work of the "*Description de l'Egypte*," the only but immortal conquest which is remaining to France from that glorious expedition.—*Introduction*, p. 46.

We have no great faith in the 'regeneration' that was intended for Egypt by this 'glorious expedition;' but of this we are certain, that had the project succeeded, and the views with which it was undertaken been realized, the permanent occupation of that country would have placed France in one of the most central and eligible positions for a speedy and convenient communication between the best portions of Europe, Africa, and Asia that could be wished; and have given to her a colony which, under proper management, would, by the fineness of its climate, and the natural fertility of its soil, have indemnified her for the loss of St. Domingo, and the rest of her West India islands, by furnishing supplies of tropical produce sufficient for her own consumption, and the countries bordering on the Mediterranean—raised too at an expense far below that at which they can be afforded in the transatlantic islands. In short, the occupation of Egypt by the French would have been one of the severest blows that England could receive; and she must, at all hazards, have endeavoured to wrest the possession of it from their hands. This urgency, however, is altogether unnecessary with respect to the degree of prosperity which the country may reach in the hands of a third power, whose influence extends not beyond its territorial limits. Even as a dependency on the Porte, its prosperity would be highly desirable; its political importance being of little or no weight under the Turks, and its commercial and agricultural industry calculated rather to benefit than to injure the European world.

The stupendous remains of ancient Egypt have frequently occupied our pages; we now propose to take a glance at modern Egypt, and the extraordinary man who presides, at present, over its destinies. To what extent he will be able to carry the improvements of this country, or to cripple its resources, (for there are different opinions on this point,) a few years more will probably decide. That he has done something for its productive industry must be admitted; though, hitherto, it would seem to have been done more for personal aggrandizement, than for the general benefit of his subjects. It is just possible, however, that his measures may proceed rather from ignorance of the first principles of political economy, and a desire the more rapidly to carry into effect his innovations, than from any avaricious or selfish feeling. If his intentions be, what the resident Franks and most travellers give him credit for,—the improvement of the country,—he will gradually perceive his errors; and Egypt may again become, what it anciently

was,

was, the granary of surrounding nations. 'The tranquillity which Egypt enjoys,' says M. Agoub, 'under the government of Mohammed Aly, and the enlightened protection which he accords to all travellers, have been highly favourable to scientific researches. By the wisdom of his administration, by his elevated views, by a toleration unknown before his time, this prince has acquired for himself an European celebrity.' Having done this, we hope he will endeavour to acquire an African celebrity, by an enlightened and beneficent policy towards his peaceable and industrious subjects, and the neighbouring tribes of that continent.

The rise of this man from a very humble situation; his intrigues with all the various parties by which this fine country has for so many years been scourged and oppressed; his successful campaigns, not only in Egypt, but also in Arabia against the fanatical sect of Wahabees, both in person and by his sons; the rewards bestowed upon him by the Grand Seigneur in consequence thereof; in short, all his good and evil deeds are minutely, and, we believe, faithfully recorded by M. Mengin, though in a loose and desultory manner, which renders his 'history' less pleasing than it might otherwise have been. The occasional details respecting his military and political measures and manœuvres; his commercial speculations, his manufacturing and agricultural experiments, are by no means devoid of interest; and the descriptions of the various classes of people composing the present population, and of the general state of Egypt, collected during a residence of twenty years, may be considered as bearing the stamp of authenticity. To these notices we are enabled to add, from documents in our possession, some circumstances of considerable interest, from a source equally authentic.

Mohammed Aly, the present Pasha of Egypt, was born at Cavalla, in Roumelia, in the year of the Hejira 1182, (1769). His father, Ibrahim Aga, was the chief of the guard for the security of the public roads. At his death, his son, then a boy, was taken and brought up in the house of the governor of Cavalla. At this early age, Mohammed is said to have felt a secret persuasion that he should one day be a great man; a thought first inspired, perhaps, by the circumstance of his mother having had a dream which the soothsayers assured her prognosticated that the child of which she was then pregnant would rise to the highest pinnacle of power. Whether the presentiment and the dream influenced his conduct, or whether, as is more than probable, both were fabricated after the event, we know not; but certain it is that he commenced his fortunate career in consequence of the active and determined manner in which he assisted his patron in collecting the taxes, and putting down a spirit of insubordination, at the expense of a few lives; for this

this he was created a *boulouk-bashi*, and received in marriage a widow of the governor's own family, by whom he had three sons, Ibrahim, Toussoun, and Ismael.

With the aid of a little money brought by his wife, and of his family connexions, Mohammed now engaged as a merchant in the tobacco trade, which he continued to pursue, with some success, until an event occurred which called him to fulfil a higher destiny. This was no other than the landing of the French in Egypt. The governor of Cavalla being ordered to furnish his contingent on that occasion, amounting to 300 men completely armed and equipped, gave the command of them to his son, and engaged Aly to accompany him as his Mentor; but the young man, disgusted with the voyage, dreading the privations which he was likely to endure amidst the sands of Aboukir, and having little relish for military glory, quitted the army and returned home, leaving the command of his contingent to Mohammed, who thereupon took the title of *Bin-bashi*. In the first battle in which he happened to be engaged, against the division of the French under General Lagrange, he lost the greater part of his men; but his spirited conduct attracted the attention of the Capitan Pasha, who selected him to head an attack upon the fort in which the French had posted themselves. During the night, he succeeded in getting within the intrenchments, ready to storm when day-light should appear; but in the morning it was discovered that the French had evacuated the works. This bloodless enterprize raised him, however, another step.

In the subsequent campaign against the Mamlouks, the Viceroy Kousrouf Pasha gave to our adventurer the command of a division of the army under Youssef-bey, who, being completely beaten, laid the blame on Mohammed, which so exasperated the Viceroy, that he determined to banish him from Egypt, and for this purpose ordered him to appear before him at night. Mohammed, in return to this message, demanded pay for himself and his troops, letting him know that he would wait on him in company with his soldiers, not at night, but on the following day. The Viceroy, knowing him to be in correspondence with Taher-Pasha and his Albanians, who were hostile to him, did not feel bold enough to carry his intended measure into execution; and was in fact a few days afterwards himself driven from his capital by the soldiers of Aly and Taher, the latter of whom assumed the reins of government, which he held but a short time; for, having invited the Mamlouks into Cairo, he was, in his turn, assassinated by the Turks.

From this moment Mohammed Aly began his intrigues with the Turks, the Mamlouks, and Albanians, making each and all of them his allies or his enemies for the time, as best suited his ulterior views;

views; but always using his influence, and generally succeeding, in appeasing sedition, or putting down tumult. For his services in these respects he was rewarded by a firman from the Grand Seignor, conferring on him the dignity of Pasha. The whole army, however, was deeply in arrear, and the new Viceroy, Hourchid, had made himself exceedingly unpopular with all ranks, on account of his exactions. This state of things was favourable to Mohammed Aly. Whether he secretly fomented dissatisfaction does not appear; but the people, headed by the Sheiks, the officers generally and the army, declared that they would no longer be governed by Hourchid. 'Whom, then,' said Mohammed Aly, 'do you mean to invest with his authority?' 'Yourself,' was the general reply; 'we wish for you to govern us according to the laws, because we know that you love justice.' That he might not be thought the instigator of those proceedings, he at first affected to reject their proposition, but at the urgent request of the Sheiks, he, with apparent reluctance, assented to their wishes. Hourchid did not fly to Alexandria, as stated by M. Mengin, but shut himself up, with his followers, in the castle of Cairo, where he was besieged by the troops under Mohammed Aly, in union with the inhabitants, until an officer arrived from the Porte with a firman, constituting him a pasha of three tails, and appointing him governor of Egypt, in the pashalick of which he was speedily confirmed; and, not long afterwards, signalized his elevation by the victory obtained over the English in the unfortunate affair before Rosetta and at El Hamet, under General Stewart, in which the flower of our little army was killed, wounded, or made prisoners.

The two expeditions of the English, however, the one successful, the other defeated as it was in the main object, were productive of considerable advantage, not to England alone, but to all Christian nations who had any connection with Egypt. M. Mengin is pleased to lament the expulsion of the French as a great misfortune to all Europe, and particularly to the inhabitants of Egypt. It may be worth while to add a word or two as to the respective merits of the two nations in this respect. At the peace of Amiens, Sir John Stuart demanded, and succeeded in obtaining, permission for Europeans to enter the *Western* harbour of Alexandria, from which they had been jealously excluded, and permitted only to enter the *Eastern* harbour, of which the water is shallow, the bottom rocky, and the anchorage consequently dangerous; and the prohibition became the more offensive by the one being called the harbour of the *faithful*, and the other that of *infidels*. This invidious distinction has ceased.

No European or Christian was permitted to ride on horseback in any part of Egypt, the horse being reserved for Mahomedans, while

while the ass was deemed the proper animal for Christians. This indignity was also abolished by the exertions of Sir John Stuart, who stipulated that all Europeans, without distinction, should be allowed to ride on horseback, which they do to the present time.

Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the conduct of the English and French armies while in Egypt. The latter rendered itself odious to the natives, while the former was universally respected. The French, without any provocation, invaded the country, and roused all the religious and political feelings of the natives against them. Their first operation was to take Alexandria by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. The scenes that occurred in every part of Egypt are well known. Thousands were butchered in cold blood, after the destruction of their fleet had cut off all intercourse with France, and confined the army to its own resources. Contributions were then levied on the country for its support, and the ferocious manner in which they were extorted exasperated still more the natives.

Now what was the conduct of the English army? It landed in Egypt to assist the Turks in wresting the country from the French; it levied no contributions; it carried its treasures with it; and paid for all supplies; it maintained the most rigid discipline; administered impartial justice to the inhabitants of the places it occupied, which was the more strongly felt during the long period in which it held Alexandria.

The revolution at Cairo had left nothing to the Turks but Alexandria; the authority of the Porte over the rest of Egypt was merely nominal; and we could have held this place against any power that could be brought against it, either from within or without. But it was deemed a wise measure, and the result has proved that it was so, to give up the town and harbour to Mohammed Aly, instead of the Porte; his hands thus became strengthened, commerce flourished, the revenues were augmented; and the general prosperity of the country rapidly advanced by the liberal policy which he continued after the example of the English; and which, we have reason to believe, he did the more readily at the recommendations and suggestions of the gentleman who was then acting as the British vice-consul at Alexandria.

The Pasha's authority however was yet very far from being established; and it was put to no little risk by a circumstance which, trifling and even ridiculous as it may appear, operated most powerfully on the minds of the superstitious Turks:—a woman had declared herself possessed of a spirit which not only spoke, but gave its hand to be kissed *in the dark*; and such was her reputation, that all Cairo, the army and the officers, became proselytes, and firmly believed in her supernatural powers. Moham-

med,

med, who well knew the danger that might arise from an ignorant and misguided multitude, determined to find out the secret of this woman's magic. For this purpose he hired four of the most skilful jugglers to endeavour to entice her before him; but the crowd attending her performances would not permit her to go. He then ordered the aga of the police to seize and bring her to the palace, in which, with some difficulty, he succeeded. The lady said the spirit spoke only by night. Very well, replied Aly, we will wait. When the time came, the pasha and the magician withdrew into a dark chamber; the spirit began by calling on the name of Sheik Aly, and having answered several questions, offered its hand for the pasha to kiss; he told it to approach a little nearer, and having felt the fingers of a human being, he made a sudden seizure of the whole hand, holding it firmly, and calling for lights, which discovered the pasha grasping the hand of the ventriloquist, (for she was nothing more,) who began to scream for mercy. Mohammed Aly, however, deemed it right to punish the impostor, and ordered her to be drowned in the Nile. The chiefs and the multitude showed a disposition to oppose this order; but the pasha told them that if she was possessed of a spirit, it would save her from drowning, and if not, she would only fulfil her destiny; and accordingly she was thrown into the river, and suffered the usual fate of witches when thus treated.

One of the worst acts of Mohammed was that of inviting the Mamlouks to Cairo in 1811, receiving them with great ceremony and apparent friendship in the citadel, presenting them with coffee, and at the same moment making dispositions for intercepting and basely assassinating them on leaving his presence. One of these unfortunate beys threw himself into the harem of the viceroy, an inviolable asylum among the Mamlouks, but he was dragged out and massacred. The beys being dispatched, M. Mengin says—

‘ Aussitôt les troupes eurent ordre d'arrêter partout les mamlouks: ceux que l'on prenait étaient conduits devant le kiaya-bey, et décapités à l'instant même. Beaucoup d'individus étrangers à cette scène périrent malgré leur innocence, tant le soldat était animé au carnage. Le cadavre de Châhyn-bey fut traîné çà et là, la corde au cou. La citadelle ressemblait à une arène ensanglantée: les morts mutilés encombraient les passages; on voyait partout des chevaux richement harnachés, étendus à côté de leurs maîtres, des sâys percés de balles, des armes brisées et des vêtemens couverts de sang: toutes ces dépouilles devinrent la proie des soldats. On comptait le matin quatre cent soixante-dix mamlouks à cheval; nul d'entre eux n'échappa au massacre.’ —vol. i. pp. 362, 363.

The greatest terror and disorder prevailed in Cuiro for several days; the shops were all shut, and the streets and bazaars deserted: rapes

rapes and robberies were committed with impunity by a lawless and undisciplined soldiery; while the pasha kept himself shut up in the citadel.

Les Tarks, qui ne pouvaient épouser que des femmes d'une classe inférieure, voyaient avec déplaisir que celles d'un plus haut rang, dédaignant leur alliance, témoignaient de l'empressement lorsqu'il s'agissait d'épouser un mamlouk. Ils eurent la bassesse de se venger, dans cette occasion, d'un sexe sans défense. Les dépouilles furent incalculables. Les maisons des beys étaient riches; plusieurs d'entre eux faisaient des préparatifs de mariage; on travaillait aux ameublemens; on avait acheté de riches étoffes, des cachemires, des bijoux. Non-seulement les habitations des pros crits furent saccagées, mais celles de leur voisinage éprouvèrent aussi le même sort; on voyait partout les traces du pillage. La ville ressemblait à une place prise d'assaut: aucun habitant ne paraissait dans les rues; chacun attendait dans sa retraite le sort que lui réservait sa destinée.—vol. i. p. 365.

At length Aly thought fit to descend from the citadel, and at the head of his guards traversed the city; and with the aid of his son, Toussoun Pasha, and the adoption of measures of great severity, he succeeded in 'staying the plague;' after, however, not less than 500 houses had been completely sacked.

The same treacherous measures were pursued in the provinces by order of the pasha, where every Mamlouk was put to death. It is suggested in extenuation that he had received orders from Constantinople to exterminate this corps, who had at all times been troublesome, and who might take advantage of the absence of the pasha's army, a great part of which was required in Arabia for the subjugation of the Wahabees. He knew, too, that the beys were in correspondence with his enemies; and he was not a little jealous of the attentions which the present Lord Guilford, when at Cairo, paid to their chiefs, and more particularly to the party of Elfi Bey. Mohammed, however, could not but be gratified at the reception of such an order, the execution of which would rid him of doubtful friends, and powerful enemies; and so little compunction did he feel on the occasion, that, we are told by M. Mengin, on being informed that he was reproached by all travellers in their narratives, for this treacherous and inhuman massacre, he replied, that he would have a picture of it painted, together with one of the death of the Duc d'Enghien, and leave to posterity what judgment it might pass on the two events.

Mohammed was now at liberty to give his undivided attention to the state of things in Arabia, whither his son, Toussoun Pasha, had been sent to command the army, and was making rapid head against the Wahabees. He had taken the city of Medina, the keys of which the pasha sent to the Porte, with large presents

of money, jewels, coffee, and other valuable articles. He now also thought it time to pay his dévotions at the shrine of Mecca. At Jeddah he was received with all kindness and hospitality by the shereef Ghaleb; in return for which, either through avarice, as some think, or on discovery, as others say, that the shereef was acting a double part, he secretly ordered his son Toussoun to seize and convey him to Cairo; while he plundered his palace of immense treasures, a part of which he applied to the support of the army, and, as usual, shared a part with his master, the Porte; who, however, on understanding the manner in which they had been obtained, had honesty enough, M. Mengin says, to return them to their owner, through Mohammed; but Ghaleb had, in the interim, been sent to some unhealthy spot, where he sickened and died.

The return of Buonaparte from Elba hastened the departure of Mohammed Aly from Arabia, to oppose any further views that the French might have upon Egypt. From the few remaining Mamlouks he had nothing to fear, and their former partizans, the Bedouin Arabs, were daily coming in to throw themselves on his clemency. Among the most powerful was Sheik Abou-Koraim, who had come to Cairo to claim the protection of Ibrahim, in his father's absence, to whom on his return he was introduced with a present of forty-five horses. The pasha, however, had not the generosity to forget that he had once been his enemy, and the unfortunate sheik lost his head.

Mohammed had for some time conceived the project of training his troops after the European system, and now commenced with those under the command of his youngest son Ismael. The troops, however, immediately began to mutiny; their officers joined them, and a general conspiracy of the agas and chiefs was formed for overturning the power of the viceroy, who had so grossly violated the law of the prophet, which says that all innovation is criminal. The conspirators marched against the citadel, and being fired upon, dispersed themselves over the city, plundered the houses and the bazaars, and spread universal terror among the inhabitants. The Franks took up arms for the defence of their own quarter, and were aided by the police; at length those who remained firm to the pasha prevailed, and the revolt was suppressed. On this occasion the pasha acted with justice as well as prudence; he ordered an exact account to be taken of the losses which had been sustained by pillage, and indemnification to be made to the several sufferers out of the treasury. He also conciliated by presents the chiefs who had revolted, and the officers of the army; but his plan of introducing European tactics was laid aside for the present.

Soon after this the viceroy suffered a grievous affliction by the death of his son, Toussoun Pasha, who had been replaced in Arabin by his eldest son, Ibrahim. After enduring so long the privations of the deserts, M. Mengin says—

« Il oubliait les combats dans les bras de ses maîtresses, entouré d'une troupe de musiciens et de jeunes danseurs qu'il avait amenée du Kaire. Il avait acheté plusieurs esclaves géorgiennes : l'une d'elles se faisait remarquer par les dons que le Ciel lui avait prodigués : c'était un modèle de beauté. La nuit même de son arrivée, elle enivra son maître de ses faveurs, et cet infortuné jeune homme les paya de sa vie. Le lendemain il se plaignit d'un violent mal de tête auquel succéda une grande agitation. Son médecin était absent, et tous les secours furent inutiles. Une sueur froide, présage de la mort, se répandit sur tous ses membres : il expira après dix heures d'un malaise continu, dans le délire et les convulsions. Les symptômes de la maladie et ses progrès rapides semblaient indiquer la peste. On crut que l'esclave l'avait apportée de Constantinople et la lui avait communiquée. Cependant elle n'en fut pas atteinte, et n'éprouva aucune indisposition.»—vol. ii. p. 82.

Ibrahim Pasha soon succeeded in completely subduing the Wahabees; and, to signalize the event, he assembled the whole of the pilgrims from Egypt and Syria on Mount Arafat, where with great solemnity, and in conformity with a vow which he had made in case of success, he sacrificed three thousand sheep, and largely distributed alms in Mecca; he then departed for Cairo, and on his arrival received the honours of a triumph. On this occasion Mohammed also received rich presents from the Grand Seigneur, and compliments on his splendid victories.

The viceroy was now at liberty to turn his attention to the south, and to bring the whole country on each side of the Nile, as far as Sennaar, under his subjection; and for this purpose he sent an army under his youngest son Ismael. Of the activity and rapid progress of this young officer, his humanity and traits of generosity towards his prisoners and the conquered inhabitants, we had occasion some time ago to speak. One single act of severity, however, proved fatal to him. He had ordered, when at Sennaar, one of the chiefs of that country to be bastinadoed, who seized the first favourable occasion to avenge himself. Ismael had gone to a village at some little distance from Sennaar, with a small guard of forty men; the chief, with a party, followed him thither, and surprising his lodgings by night, stabbed him to the heart with a poniard, and most of his guards fell in the scuffle.

One of the objects of this expedition was that of recruiting his army with the blacks of Sennaar, Shendy, Kordofan, and the neighbouring countries, which was accomplished to the number, as M. Mengin says, of 8000 men; we happen to know they were more than double that number. These unhappy beings were all

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of them, in the first place, vaccinated, and were then instructed in manual exercise and military evolutions, in the European mode, by some French officers. The hopes of the pasha, however, were greatly disappointed in these black troops. They were strong able-bodied men, and not averse from being taught; but when attacked by disease, which soon broke out in the camp, they died like sheep infected with the rot. The medical men ascribed the mortality to moral rather than physical causes: it appeared in numerous instances that, having been snatched away from their homes and families, they were even anxious to get rid of life; and such was the dreadful mortality that ensued, that out of 20,000 of these unfortunate men, three thousand did not remain alive at the end of two years. We may add that nothing is more common in Cairo than to find the black slaves, who are treated with all kindness, complain of being weary of life, and seeking for means to get rid of it; it is also observed that on this account they are more susceptible of disease, especially of the plague.

Mohammed Aly was determined, however, to carry the new system into effect. Of the means which he subsequently employed, and of the success which has attended them, we are enabled to speak on the authority of an eye-witness, who, with the two consuls, Salt and Drovetti, paid a visit to the pasha at his camp, near Mansalout, and remained there several weeks. His adoption of the system of European tactics has been thought by some to be preparatory to throwing off his allegiance to the Porte, to whom it is supposed he has given irreparable offence by his protection of the Greeks, and his refusal to put in practice those inhuman measures which were resorted to in Syrin, Cyprus, Smyrna, and Constantinople. We have reason to know that this is not the case. His assistance to the Porte has not, indeed, been of the most active or extensive kind; but he has hitherto continued to proffer both ships and troops, and is this year preparing an expedition against the Morea on a large scale. Perhaps the numerous presents to Constantinople may have been sent with a view to excuse him from taking a more effectual part against the Greeks. His last present was the Pigot diamond, purchased from Rundle and Bridge for the sum of £30,000.

The new project, as our correspondent informs us, was to place five hundred of his Mamlouks under the care of Mohammed Bey, (formerly the *kiaya-bey*), a faithful adherent, at Assuan, who were regularly trained as officers under Colonel Séve, formerly aide-de-camp to Marshal Ney, and who, in conjunction with some Englishmen, (whom we will not name,) failed in an attempt to withdraw this criminal from justice; on which account he was obliged to abandon his country. It will readily be conceived that he had to

encounter difficulties of the most formidable kind. In the formation of our Sepoy corps in India, officers are prepared to command; but here every thing was to be newly organized, in opposition to established usages and religious prejudices, which nothing but great courage, perseverance, and patience could surmount. The Mamlouks were occasionally so discontented as to threaten Colonel Sévé's life; but he never lost his firmness, and this alone saved him. He openly addressed those who had combined against him, offering to fight the whole of them with the sabre, single-handed, one by one, as long as they chose to attack him. A character thus resolute gradually won upon their untutored minds; he became at length a great favourite; and they made a considerable progress under his instructions.

As the blacks sickened and died in the way we have mentioned, it was now determined to set about a regular conscription, *à la Française*, of the Arabs, or fellahs, when about thirty thousand were indiscriminately seized, without regard to their fitness, and sent, under a military guard, to Upper Egypt. These, with the remains of the black slaves, a few Berbers, and the Mamlouk officers, compose the pasha's present army. Twelve Europeans, chiefly Italians, are employed as instructors. Disease for a time considerably thinned the ranks of the new conscripts; but at the commencement of the present year they were computed at about twenty-three thousand effective men. They are formed into six regiments, each of which, when complete, is intended to consist of five battalions of eight hundred men.

Four of these regiments were encamped near Mansalout, on the skirts of the desert, on a strip of land the surface of which was covered with stones, when our informant visited the camp. The men being mostly without shoes, their manœuvring became the more difficult. There is no regular administration, we believe, in this army, every thing being ordered by Mohammed Bey through the pasha; yet there is a vigour and a promptitude in despotism not altogether unsuited for a military system; as, for instance, with regard to the shoeless troops. The pasha, having observed one of the European visitors wearing shoes with a high instep, and tied *à la militaire*, borrowed them as a pattern, and in less than twelve hours a dozen pair were ready; these were dispatched instantly to Cairo, with a peremptory order that forty thousand pair should be ready in a month. All the shoemakers in Cairo were immediately set to work, and the order was completed—*"Raguk, on your heads be it!"*—and thus it is with every thing that the pasha resolves upon.

The Mamlouk colonels, who were all slaves, are become good officers, and about fifteen thousand of the troops are tolerably perfect, and fit for active service. To these may be added about eight thousand

thousand who are in training; and in the beginning of the present year a new conscription was ordered of fifteen thousand more, it being the intention of Mohammed Aly to keep up an army of forty thousand men, one battalion of which is to be stationed at Alexandria to be trained as marines for his navy, which is to consist of forty vessels of different rates, the seamen being entirely Arabs.

The Pasha, our correspondent observes, is highly delighted with the progress made by his army. It gives him, as it were, a new life; and the spirit of ambition finds in it food to work upon. His mornings are passed in receiving his officers and arranging affairs with Mohammed Bey. In the afternoons, one of the regiments is exercised in the open plain before him; at sun-set he retires to the inner pavilion, and the principal officers are assembled to study the theory of war upon a large table, in his presence, with little leaden figures, in platoons and battalions, over which he stands enjoying the scene for three or four hours together, until the time comes for repose, when he retires to dream of

all quality,

Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war!

Every third day he has a grand review of the four regiments. 'The last that I witnessed,' says our correspondent, 'was that of two armies meeting in the plain, one of which refused its centre; and on being pressed, retired in divisions by two defiles in its rear. It then re-formed its line of battle on the hills, and as the opposing army deployed through the defiles, extended its wings and formed a half circle, by which it prevented the advancing foe from taking up its position, and consequently obliged it, in its turn, to retreat: and all this was gone through without a single mistake, or even a platoon losing its equilibrium. It gave me the best idea of a battle I have ever witnessed, always excepting the Duke of Wellington's famous review on the plains of Mont Martre.'

Near the camp was established a large bazaar, well stocked with provisions and all kinds of necessities; among other things, wine was openly exposed to sale. 'Yet,' says our friend, 'it must not be supposed that the Pasha is careless of the morals or religious character of his new army. He has, on the contrary, been very particular in giving orders for the men to attend the usual forms of devotion; and when the muezzin, that always accompanies his highness, calls out the hours for prayer, the soldiers may be seen by battalions, bowing themselves in adoration to the ground. The men are no longer liable to arbitrary punishment; every one committing a fault is tried before he can be bastinadoed, and generally some other punishment is preferred—as confinement, degradation by being compelled to carry water, &c. The officers

are placed in arrest, and even the Pasha does not pretend to decide on their culpability.' This is the greatest of all points gained over a complete despotism; and it were much to be wished that the same forbearance could be carried into the civil administration of the country.

The *mir-allais*, or colonels of regiments, have a splendid pay, amounting to one hundred thousand piastres per annum (about 1500*l.* sterling). Their dress is very rich, of red cloth covered with gold lace, and a half moon of diamonds on each breast, computed to be worth twenty thousand piastres. Over this they wear, on state occasions, a scarlet pelisse, which fastens over the breast with two large clasps of gold set with emeralds. Their upper dress is closed with a sash, and the Turkish full trowsers have given way to more strait conveniences, which are tied under the knee, and thence downwards fit to the legs like gaiters. The pay of the non-commissioned officers is ample; and that of the men, eighteen piastres per month, with full rations of good provisions and their clothing. They are now content and even attached to the service, and a considerable spirit of emulation prevails among them. They may often be seen, when off duty, practising among themselves the manual exercise as an amusement. Nor are instances wanting of cool and determined courage; thus, on exercising a mortar, a shell dropped close to one of them, when, instead of running from it, or throwing himself on the ground, he stood unmoved, and fortunately unhurt; being asked why he did so, he said, 'I am now a soldier, and a soldier ought not to know fear.' This spirit has in a great measure been excited by the impartial manner in which promotion to the rank of serjeants and corporals has been given according to merit. The serjeants are handsomely dressed, and wear a sabre, which to a *fellah* is a most enviable distinction.

Great merit is unquestionably due to Colonel Séve for the reformation which he has effected in the Pasha's army,—we may say, for the creation of it; but beyond this we cannot prevail on ourselves to speak of him without the strongest terms of reprobation: it is stated that he has turned Turk, and that his degradation has been cloaked and soothed with the name and title of Suliman Bey, and *Mir-allai*, or colonel of four thousand. He received his pelisse and his advancement on the morning of the nativity of Christ, as if it were meant expressly to outrage the religion he had renounced: but he will probably find that he has sold his birthright for a mess of pottage; for when his services are no longer wanted, Mohammed Aly will know very well how to dispose of him. An example about the time might have served as a warning. An European, who had become a mussulman, being seen drunk, was ordered by Ibrahim Pasha to be bastinadoed—some one observed, that

that he was an European; 'No, no,' said Ibrahim, 'he is one of us, lay it on well;' and he received five hundred lashes.

We have now to look at Mohammed Aly, in his pacific character, as civil governor of the ancient territory of the Pharaohs;—to notice the extent and resources of his territory—and to give some short account of the heterogeneous assemblage of the inhabitants, which compose its present population.

Egypt is comprehended within an immense valley, extending north and south from the heights of Syene, or Assuan, in latitude about 24° N. to the shores of the Mediterranean, somewhere about the latitude of $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N.; being, in round numbers, six hundred miles in length, and of very various width. Of this length, Upper Egypt, or the Said, being the space between Syene and Cairo, occupies about 500 miles, hemmed in between two ridges of grey sandstone mountains, approaching sometimes within five or six miles of each other. From Cairo to the sea, the ridge of hills almost disappear and diverge on each side, so as to give to that part of the valley the form of a triangle, whose height, or length up the Nile, may be about 100, and base, along the Mediterranean, 150 miles; and the space thus included has been called, on account of its form, the Delta of Egypt. Down the midst of this extended valley meanders the majestic Nile. By giving to Upper Egypt an average breadth of ten miles, and allowing for the lateral valleys stretching out from the Delta, we may assign to that portion of the territory capable of cultivation about 16,000 square miles; or, in round numbers, ten millions of acres. This is just about one half the surface of Ireland; and, as the population of this island has been found, by recent inquiries, to amount to about six millions, the population of Egypt, as we shall see presently, is nearly one half of that of Ireland, and consequently their relative population nearly equal. But there is no comparison between the quantity and the value of the agricultural products of the two countries; the former, in this respect, having greatly the advantage. A very large proportion of the Egyptian territory, perhaps nearly one half, is periodically inundated by the Nile; or capable of artificial irrigation from it. The remaining part requires a more laborious cultivation, and yields a more scanty produce. In fact, without this river, the whole of Egypt would become a desert, like those by which it is hemmed in on both sides, as a shower of rain is scarcely known. The atmosphere, from March to November, is dry and inflamed by a scorching sun and a cloudless sky; the average height of the thermometer, about 90° ; in the other six months, about 60° : the nights are generally cool, and the dews heavy. The winds most pernicious to health and destructive to vegetation are those which blow over the deserts, called by the Arabs *simoom*, and by

the Turks *samiel*. The character of this wind, however, is different at the different seasons of the year when it mostly prevails. In December and January it is accompanied with intense and penetrating cold; but about the vernal equinox, when it sometimes blows for nearly two months, and is therefore called the wind of fifty days, it is intensely hot, bringing with it clouds of a fine impalpable sand, which darkens the air, deprives the sun of his splendour, and gives to his orb, 'shorn of its beams,' a dull violet hue. The furniture in the houses warps, cracks, and splits; the foliage is shrivelled up, fevers prevail among the inhabitants, who desert the streets and bazars, and shut themselves up in their houses.

M. Larrey, the chief surgeon of Buonaparte's medical staff, divides the climate into what he calls *quatre saisons constitutionnelles*, the first of which commences about the 20th August, when the Nile begins to overflow its banks. From this moment until the autumnal equinox, the inundation increases; lower Egypt is then like a sea, in which the towns and villages appear as so many islands: towards the end of September the waters retire, and the general seed-time commences. To this season he gives the name of *saison humide*; the west winds and fogs then prevail, and produce ophthalmia, fever, diarrhoea, and catarrh.

The second season begins with December, and continues to the 1st March. The winds blow mostly from the East; the nights are cold, but during the day the temperature is that of June in France. The various productions of the earth are vigorously on the increase; the surface is spread over with the most lively tints of verdure; the birds and other animals '*se livrent à leurs amours*,' and all nature, reanimated by the moderate heat of the sun and the fecundity of the river, seems to grow young again. This period is healthy, if the night airs are avoided, and may justly be called *la saison fécondante*.

From the beginning of March to the end of May is the *saison morbide*. The east winds, which tempered the air during the spring, now pass to the south, which they seldom quit before the end of May or beginning of June. These are the 'winds of fifty days,' which we have already mentioned.

The fourth, which M. Larrey designates under the name of *saison étésienne*, commences about the middle of June, or just before the solstice, and continues to the overflowing of the Nile. The winds are then variable, but, towards the end of it, fix themselves to the north, when they become regular, rising and falling with the sun. These winds, in passing over the Mediterranean, are generally supposed to carry with them aqueous vapours to the mountains of Ethiopia or Abyssinia; where, being condensed, they are precipitated in torrents of rain, at and after the summer solstice, producing

producing that gradual, constant, and periodical increase of the Nile, on which the sustenance of the people entirely depends; and such also appears to be M. Larrey's opinion; but we rather incline to think that the vapours of the Mediterranean are as nothing when compared with those brought over the Atlantic and Indian oceans by the south and south-west winds. The air is now clear and dry, and though the heat is excessive, it is by far the most healthy season of the year.

The lands inundated by the Nile are, as we observed above, exceedingly fertile; and though they have successively from year to year, without intermission, borne one and frequently two crops, and without any rational system of invigoration by manure or otherwise, for more than 3000 years, they still continue to do the same without any perceptible impoverishment, and without any further tillage than the adventitious top-dressing of black slimy mould, by the overflowing of the river. But the productiveness of the soil, especially where the inundation does not reach, has been greatly over-rated. The crops of wheat in particular are very scanty, not above five or six for one; but for *mays* and *dourra*, or millet, the soil appears to be peculiarly adapted; and these two species of grain, with rice, lentils, and various kinds of pulse, constituting the principal food of nine-tenths of the inhabitants, allowed the government, who usurped the monopoly, to export the greater part of the wheat produced. Since the peace of Europe, however, this branch of commerce has nearly ceased, in consequence of the increased cultivation of that grain in other countries. At one period not less than eight or nine hundred European vessels annually sailed from Alexandria, for Marseilles, Genoa, Leghorn, Trieste, Malta, and Constantinople, freighted with articles of raw produce in exchange for hard money or for the manufactures of those respective countries; while two or three cargoes were all that could be got together for England. In the year 1821, however, an experiment was made by an English merchant, of a cargo of *linseed for crushing*; when it was found that, notwithstanding the freight (on account of the greater distance) doubled that which is paid from Russia, it would answer as a return for British exports, if relieved from the heavy quarantine duty, to which Baltic seed is not subject; this duty was accordingly mitigated by the Lords of the Treasury, and, in consequence, the exportation direct from Egypt to England increased last year to 25,000 quarters, and gave employment to more than twenty British ships.

But an article of the very first importance to the commerce and manufactures of England has recently been raised in Egypt, and to such an extraordinary extent as to have surpassed all expectation. We allude to *cotton wool*, not of the usual coarse kind

hitherto

hitherto grown in Egypt, but of a very superior quality, raised from Brazil seed. The first essay was made by order of the Pasha, in the year 1822, when the crop yielded about 25,000 bags, of 2 cwt. each. A few bags of this cotton, sent to Liverpool on trial, were sold at the rate of from 11 to 13 pence per pound. Some thousand bales have, in the interval, been sent to France, Italy, and the South of Germany. In 1823 the crop was so abundant that, after supplying the demands of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, it is calculated that at least 50,000 bags may be exported to England in the course of the present year; and the Pasha is still extending the culture of this useful plant, on tracts of country long neglected, by clearing out the ancient canals and digging others, which communicate with the Nile; so that the crop of the present year is expected to double that of the preceding, and in future years will, in all probability, equal the whole of what is now imported from America, to which it is by no means inferior; and as the plant is not exposed to frost or injurious rains, as in most other countries, it is therefore less precarious.

This new source of supply acquires additional importance from the consideration, that it will be brought to England in British shipping, and will lead to a material increase of our export trade to Egypt. As the greater part of this cotton will be carried to the port of Liverpool, where a considerable quantity has already arrived, for the supply of the Lancashire manufactories, the mayor of Liverpool thought it right to convene the physicians of that town, and to request them to consider, and report their opinion, with regard to the danger of introducing the plague; and also as to the precautions which it might be necessary to take; it being well known, that cotton-wool is an article peculiarly susceptible of receiving and transmitting the infection, provided it be infectious, a point on which doctors disagree. The Liverpool physicians in their report state, 'that the introduction of the plague would be the greatest and the most dreadful of all calamities; that if once introduced, it would be extremely difficult, if not almost impossible, to arrest its progress, or to confine its ravages within narrow limits, in consequence of the rapid, extensive, and incessant communication which exists between all parts of the country; and that if it were to prevail to any considerable extent, it would be attended with such destruction of human life, and, from the inevitable suspension of all commercial intercourse with the infected districts, with such ruin, distress, and desolation, as were never before experienced in this country.' In consequence of this alarming report and opinion, a proper quarantine establishment either has been, or is, or is about to be, formed in the neighbourhood of Liverpool.

verpool, intended to avert so terrible a calamity as the physicians have contemplated, and which the establishment of Standgate Creek, during more than a century, proves can so easily be guarded against, as is done in all the Mediterranean states. In fact cotton-wool, cotton-yarn, mohair yarn, and Turkey carpets, have from time immemorial been imported into London without danger; and, under similar precautions, what cause for apprehension can there be at Liverpool? Even in Turkey and in Egypt the plague prevails only at a certain season of the year—like the yellow fever of the West Indies, New Orleans and other parts of America, whence cotton-wool is received at Liverpool in great quantities, without performing any quarantine or exciting any fear, while in Italy the yellow fever of the new world is dreaded as much as the plague. England, in our opinion, has in her climate alone a protection; and though precautionary measures are prudent, (while the doctrine of contagion prevails,) the experience of the last century shows there is no just ground for alarm. It appears also, that the Pasha of Egypt, who, unlike his brother Mahomedans, is no fatalist, and who prefers his own interests to the prejudices of his religion, is about to establish a lazaretto at Alexandria, with a view to extirpate the plague from his dominions.

It is a remarkable fact, that though some of the men in the French and English armies were infected with the plague during the campaign of 1801, it gradually diminished under the regulations of the English board of health, till it totally ceased in 1803, and the whole of Egypt remained perfectly free from it during the succeeding ten years. In 1813 it re-appeared, supposed to have been brought from Constantinople, since which Egypt has been visited annually in the spring with this calamity. There are several curious anomalies connected with this extraordinary disease, which many medical men view in a less alarming manner than the Liverpool physicians. The vessel, for instance, which was supposed to have brought the plague to Malta in 1813, was navigated back to Alexandria by volunteer seamen, without losing a man; and on being delivered up there to the owners, the whole cargo, consisting of flax, and other supposed contagious articles, was landed by the native Arabs, with perfect impunity. We have little doubt, therefore, that by the establishment of a regular quarantine, the Pasha will gradually liberate Egypt from this dreadful scourge, and entitle himself to the gratitude of mankind.

To the cotton may be added, as articles of export, silk and flax; and it is scarcely necessary to say, that in such a climate, with the command of water, the sugar-cane will grow in great perfection. Indigo, carthamus or safflower, and hennah, as plants producing dyes, are extensively cultivated. Almost every kind of fruit and

of grain, whether European or tropical, may be, and most of them are, raised in Egypt. In the beautiful province of Fayoum, the vine and the olive flourish in great luxuriance; and, in the Wady, or valley of Toumlaut, the viceroy has established a colony of five-hundred Syrians, for the purpose of cultivating the mulberry, and rearing silk-worms.

Meanwhile it is greatly to be feared that the direct interference of Mohammed Aly, in almost every article of produce and manufacture, will ultimately tend to cramp and discourage the industry of the inhabitants, and to render the cultivators of the soil indifferent to every thing beyond the supply of a certain quantity of *dourra* sufficient for their support. Formerly the Viceroys of Egypt were satisfied with the receipt of the *miri*, or land-tax, according to the quality of the land; but Mohammed has, in a great many instances, taken the land into his own hands, in lieu of an annual pension for life to the proprietors; so that the father, as M. Mengin observes, will have nothing to leave to his children: the property in the soil he has thus secured, but the payment even of this life annuity will depend on circumstances. The lands which he has thus seized upon are chiefly those which belonged to the Mamlouks, to certain establishments for feeding the poor, for the support of mosques, fountains and public schools, and to the sheiks and certain Moultezims or proprietors. Even the owner of those lands which have not yet been seized is not master of his produce; he cannot dispose of any part of it until the agents of government have taken what part they may think proper at their own price; and, in lieu of the established *miri*, all the families belonging to the court are served with agricultural products at half their value; and the Pasha is the sole vender of produce for exportation. This will fully explain the observation of M. Mengin, that the traveller sees, with astonishment the richness of the harvests contrasted with the miserable state of the villages; and that, 'if it be true that there is no country more rich in its territorial productions, there is none perhaps whose inhabitants are more miserable.'

The innovations of the Pasha have probably left the Egyptian labouring peasant, or *fellah*, in the same state nearly in which, as far as history goes, he seems always to have been, with that additional act of tyranny hanging over his head, of being snatched away from his miserable family by the new conscription. Neither have his plans yet been in any considerable degree beneficial to the manufactures and general commerce of the country. Without possessing the most simple rudiments of political economy, he innovates for the sake of doing something. With all the various and valuable products of the land to give in exchange for the manufactures of Europe, nothing will serve him but to become a manufactur-

ture

turer himself, though every thing is against him. He has no power to set machinery in motion but human or brute force; not a stream of water to turn a wheel—neither coal nor wood to work a steam-engine—yet he has his wheels and his manufactories, his spinning-jennies and his steam-engines, under the direction of a few Frenchmen who, from selfish motives, encourage him to go on, though he can purchase English cottons and English cloths of infinitely superior quality to any he can make, and at one-fifth part of the cost. But, as the author of 'Scenes and Impressions in Egypt' says, 'Mohammed Aly Pasha is a Turk, a very Turk; he is surrounded, flattered, cajoled by a set of foreign adventurers, who put notions into his head, and words into his mouth, which pass for, and in truth become his own: the race between him and them is, who shall get the most out of each other; and what between force and fraud, I believe the Pasha has the best of it. His idea of political economy is pretty much like that of the countryman, who killed the goose, and was astonished not to find more eggs of gold.' He adds, 'his merit, if any, is, in defiance of prejudices, receiving men with heads to contrive, and hands to execute, what himself, his three-tailed sons, and his people, cannot.' Surely this is some merit.

There is, besides, a physical objection to the introduction of fine machinery into Egypt, which is noticed by M. Mengin—a perpetual and imperceptible dust or fine sand, against which no caution is of avail, penetrates the wheel-work and finer parts of the machinery, disturbing and sometimes stopping the movements; all the wood-work splits or warps with the winds of the *siroon morbide*, and the extreme heat and dryness of the climate cause the cotton threads to break and snap asunder. With these difficulties, and a forced and ill-paid labour, there is little chance of ultimate success in those manufactories in which machinery is required.

Among other projects, we ought to have mentioned that of forming a complete military arsenal within the citadel of Cairo, of which a Frenchman has the direction, and in which are employed about 600 men; here it is intended to cast cannon and fabricate the necessary *matériel* for their equipment; and also to make gunpowder, for which the country produces abundance of the necessary materials, with the exception perhaps of wood. Saltpetre is every where found in the deserts and the natron lakes; and several sulphur mines have been explored between the Nile and the Red Sea. It would appear that some portion of this establishment within the citadel has recently blown up, conveniently, as some suppose, on the arrival of the Capitan Pasha at Alexandria, to call for Mohammed's contingent against the Greeks. The

The establishment of a telegraph between Cairo and Alexandria gave him immediate intelligence of the approach of the Turkish fleet, and he well knew the nature and object of the visit. If, however, there was design in this explosion, the effect of it was accidentally extended far beyond what could possibly have been contemplated.*

The opening of the ancient canals and the digging of new ones are works whose beneficial effects are universally felt and acknowledged; among these is particularly deserving of notice the Canal of Mahmoudiah, which connects the harbour of Alexandria with the Nile, at Fouah; and by which the whole produce of Egypt can be brought without danger or interruption to the port of shipment. In the winter of 1817, when a scarcity of grain prevailed all over Europe, ships flocked to Egypt where there was abundance; but owing to the bar at the mouth of the Nile, near Rosetta, and the tempestuous weather along the coast, none of it could be conveyed in time to the vessels that were waiting at Alexandria, to the number of 300 sail, some of which ultimately departed with half cargoes, and others went away in ballast; thus the losses became incalculable, and the disputes endless. It was now that the advantages of a navigable canal were strongly depicted to the Pasha, who accordingly set about the stupendous undertaking.

All the labouring classes of Lower Egypt were put in requisition, and a month's pay advanced them to provide biscuit and provisions. To each village and district was marked out the work allotted to it. The Arabs were marched down in thousands and tens of thousands, under their respective chiefs, along the line of the intended canal; and, however exaggerated it may appear, we have the best authority for stating that the number employed at one time exceeded two hundred and fifty thousand men! In about six weeks, the whole excavation was completed, the people returned home to their respective occupations; but in the autumn a few thousands were called upon to face parts with masonry, and make the whole navigable for vessels of considerable burthen. This work is about 48 miles in length, 90 feet in breadth, and from 15 to 18 feet in depth. It was opened with great pomp on the 7th of December, 1819; and the joyful intelligence was communicated by Mohammed Aly to Mr. Briggs, then in England, who had strenuously urged and zealously prosecuted an undertaking which has shed a blessing on Egypt, and will prove an incalculable benefit to the foreign trader to that country. That the labouring *fellahs* should not like it or us, as we are told by the author

* Since the above was printed we have received from Cairo the details of this melancholy accident, (for such it really was,) the result of which has been the almost total destruction of the citadel, and the loss of full four thousand lives.

of 'Scenes and Impressions in Egypt,' is natural enough. 'As we passed,' he says, 'amid the crowds of Arab fellahs, labouring on the canal, we were abused and pelted with mud. We laughed at, and forgave, and pitied them. They are impressed with an idea that the Franks encouraged the Pasha to undertake this work; and as he forces them from their families, and pays them with beans and the horsewhip, they can view us under no other light than joint oppressors.'

The establishment of colleges for the instruction of youth in foreign languages and mathematics, and inferior schools; the protection and indulgence afforded to religious sects of every denomination; the introduction of the vaccine, and of the medical and surgical practices of Europe; the embellishment of the fountains and reservoirs of Cairo with ornamented marble columns, and various other improvements, are what will mostly redound to the honour of Mohammed. The Turks, however, dislike all these innovations, and consequently the author and encourager of them. In fact, they perceive that he is a Turk only to his own countrymen, and that with them he is rigidly strict; whilst, to all others, Christian or Pagan, he is liberal and wholly free from prejudice; and his greatest enemies give him the credit of wishing to deal out equal justice to all.

In medical practitioners both the inhabitants and the army are very deficient; but the Pasha has ordered that a school of medicine shall be established, which he expects to perfect with the same facility as he procured the forty thousand pair of shoes—'on your heads be it!' To assist this school, it has been proposed that a set of waxen models should be procured from Padua! another recommends that they should immediately lay out a botanical garden! a third advises him to send for interpreters to all parts of Europe to translate without delay the best books into the Turkish language! and again it is recommended that the Italian should be adopted as the language of the court. Coal-mines, sulphur-mines, porphyry-mines, and emerald-mines are all to be explored and worked. In fact, with that thirst which Mohammed Aly manifests for innovation and improvement, one point, as might be expected, leads to another, every hill gained opens new mountains to view, but not to daunt, in the smallest degree, the ardour of the Pasha; they must all be surmounted. Among other things, the French have persuaded him to establish an Institute, to be held in the palace of the deceased Ismael Pasha. 'Among the books,' says the writer of "Impressions," 'a most conspicuous place was occupied by a number of volumes backed "*Victoires des François*!" I observed "*Les Liaisons Dangereuses*," two large volumes backed "*L'Amour*,"

"L'Amour," Byron, in *French prose!!!* and one solitary book in English—"Malcolm's Persia."

All lawsuits and criminal prosecutions are settled by a Cady, or judge, who is sent from the Porte and removed annually; under him are the Shieks and others, learned in the law. A civil process is stated to cost about 4 per cent. of the value in dispute, of which the Cady takes four-fifths for himself and gives one-fifth to the lawyers who assisted him. All minor disputes and complaints are brought before the Kiaya-bey. His instruments are—the Agha of the Janissaries, who is charged with maintaining good order, and especially among the soldiers; the Onali, or Agha of the police, who more especially looks after the thieves and prostitutes, on both of whom he levies contributions for the support of himself and his myrmidons. The *Moteceb* regulates the weights and measures; the Bache-Agha has the direction of the patroles, and the spies who frequent the coffee-houses, bazaars and other public places; and, in addition to these, there is a head-man in every quarter of the city, who endeavours to settle disputes and preserve peace in the neighbourhood. This is effectually done, so that the streets of Cairo are as safe as those of London, except on occasions when the military break loose for want of pay, or to avenge themselves of some grievance, when the peaceable inhabitants usually suffer.

The population of Egypt is pretty accurately ascertained by a tax laid on every house. M. Mengin, who says he has paid great attention to the subject, reckons in Cairo eight persons to each house, and in the provinces four. The account then stands thus:

	Houses.	Inhabitants.
In Cairo	25,000	200,000
In the provincial towns of Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta, Old Cairo, and Boulak	14,532	58,128
In 14 provinces, containing 3475 villages,	564,168	2,256,272
	603,700	2,514,400

Thus Cairo is the only city of Egypt which contains any great accumulation of inhabitants. The city was built by Gaubar, a general in the service of the first caliph of the race of the Fatemites of Egypt, in the year 358 of the hegira (968 of the Christian era). The celebrated Saladin surrounded it with walls. For the last three hundred years its splendour is supposed to have gradually declined. M. Mengin speaks with great contempt of the palaces which Mohammed Aly has built for himself and his family. Many of the old ones, and numerous houses, are in ruins, and in the last twenty-

twenty-five years the population has decreased nearly one-fourth. Cairo contains, according to M. Mengin, 240 principal streets, 46 public places, 11 bazaars, or covered streets; 140 schools for the instruction of children, 300 public cisterns, 1166 coffee-houses, 65 public baths, and *one* miserable hospital for the reception of the infirm and insane. It contains besides, he says, '400 mosques, where mussulmen go to pray, to eat, drink and sleep; where merchants and money-changers carry on a traffic, and where loiterers pass their time in listening to story-tellers—these sacred edifices being still, as heretofore, dens of thieves.' We must be permitted, however, to doubt the writer's accuracy on this point; it being well known that Mussulmen hold their mosques in as great veneration as Christians do their churches.

The population is composed of Franks, or Europeans, Armenians, Greeks, Syrians, Christians, Jews, Turks, Arabians, and Copts, who are supposed, on every ground of probability, to be the descendants of the ancient Egyptians. The Franks are mostly from the shores bordering on the Mediterranean, and chiefly engaged in commerce and in the Pasha's new manufactories; they do not exceed one thousand, half of whom are in Alexandria, and the other half in Cairo. In spite of all the partiality and protection of the Pasha, the Turks lose no opportunity of insulting and abusing these 'Christian dogs.' There are about two thousand Armenians, who reside principally in the capital, where they exercise every kind of trade, and are much concerned in money transactions with the government. The Greek Christians of Syria may be reckoned at 8000 in Cairo, and 1000 in the other cities of Egypt: they were formerly the wholesale merchants who supplied the land proprietors and others with various kinds of articles, and were in general wealthy; but the monopoly of the viceroy has very considerably impoverished them. There are about five thousand descendants of the ancient Greek colonists, who form quite a distinct race from the modern Greeks: these people have lost their ancient language and speak a kind of Arabic; many of them are mariners, but in general they pursue the inferior and handicraft trades.

M. Mengin reckons about four thousand Jews in Egypt, three thousand of whom inhabit a part of Cairo called after them the Jews' quarter, of which the streets are so narrow as to be almost impassable; the houses are dark, crowded together, filthy, and so infectious that, when the plague breaks out, the first inquiry is, if it has appeared in the Jews' quarter? Yet such is their affection for this wretched abode, that an Egyptian Jewess meeting M. Mengin in Paris, said to him, with an accent of regret, 'Ah! Monsieur, où est le Kaire! où est le quartier Juif!'

The Copts, or descendants of the ancient Egyptians, are by far the

the most numerous class of Christians in Egypt, amounting at least to 160,000, of whom about 10,000 inhabit the two most populous quarters of Cairo. In the towns they practise different trades, but the greater part labour on the lands, among the fellahs, from whom they are scarcely distinguishable. Under the government of the Mamlouks the Copts were employed in taking an account of and collecting the revenues of the villages, and many of them still hold situations of this kind, and as writers about the court. In their manners they are austere and forbidding, generally silent, and wearing an air of melancholy; but they are said to be extremely tyrannical when in power.

The Fellahs, who compose the chief part of the population of Egypt, are, at the present day, a distinct race of men, originally, in all probability, from some part of the East, and a mixture perhaps of ancient Egyptians, Arabians, and Syrians: they approach nearest, as we have observed, to the Copts; but they are rigid mussulmen, and as strictly observant of the religious rites and ceremonies laid down by their sheiks or priests, to whom they pay implicit obedience, as the Hindoos of those prescribed by the Brahmans. The change of government operates no change either in their customs, their manners, or their condition. They labour hard on the soil, and live in the most abstemious manner on dourra, dwell in cottages of unbaked bricks, are clothed in coarse woollen cloth, and sleep on mats: those in the towns exercise handicraft trades, and keep shops in the bazaars, which they only quit to attend the mosques. Like all orientals, they are fond of frequenting coffee-houses and listening to the tales of pretended magicians, or the rude music of strolling singers. They submit without murmuring to every species of ill treatment, and in meekness and apathy may almost be said to surpass the Hindoos.

The tented Arab, hovering with his flocks along the borders of the fertile valley of the Nile, is the same in character, manners, and customs as he everywhere else is, and apparently has been in all times since the days of the patriarchs, regarding with disdain and proud independence all other classes of mankind, but more particularly those of his own nation, who, in his eyes, have degraded themselves by taking up their abodes in fixed habitations, and whom he calls in contempt *haty*, or Arabs of the walls. Those who turn cultivators are equally despised, and considered in the light of fellahs, with whom an alliance by marriage would be regarded as dishonourable. The Arab women have fine features and complexion; they are much fairer than the Egyptian women, and far more correct in their conduct. In cases of infidelity, the injured party takes the law into his own hands, and the culprit is generally punished with death.

M. Mengin assures us, that the notion so generally entertained of

of the females of Egypt living a confined and secluded life in their harems; is very far from being correct; that, on the contrary, whether married, or slaves from Georgia, Circassia, and Mengrelia, they are allowed to quit the harem whenever they please; and very frequently, accompanied by a confidante, leave the house under pretext of going to the bath, or of making visits, when the real object is to indulge in illicit amours. He tells a story, in order to prove that the refined wit and coquetry of an Egyptian female are not at all inferior to that of a Parisian; which, whether true or false, has very much the air of an Eastern romance, and, to our apprehension, of a very dull and clumsy one.

We are by no means convinced, however, either by M. Mengin's assurances or his story, that the Egyptian women enjoy that liberty which he states them to do; we believe, that, like other oriental females, they are the mere slaves of their husbands' or their owners' caprices; and we are further persuaded that this degrading condition of the women is one of the greatest obstacles to the civilization of Egypt, and one of the last that will probably be removed, intimately connected as it is with the precepts of the Mahomedan faith.

Our Article has extended beyond the limits originally proposed; yet we cannot conclude it without recurring once more to the extraordinary person who presides over the destinies of this motley population: we will, however, be brief.

Mohammed Aly is well spoken of by most European travellers, and, we conceive, not altogether undeservedly, though the author whom we have already quoted (p. 501) appears to think otherwise. 'I sat on the divan,' he says, 'with my eyes fixed on him; I wanted to examine the countenance of a man, who had realized in our day one of those scenes in history which, when we have perused it, always compels us to lay down the book, and recover ourselves—there he sat—a quick eye, features common, nose bad, a grizzled beard, looking much more than fifty, the worn complexion of that period of life, and there seemed to be creeping upon him that aspect which belongs to and betrays the grey decrepitude of lust. . . . They tell you he is not sanguinary; men grow tired of shedding blood, as well as of other pleasures; but if the cutting off a head would drop gold into his coffers, he would not be slow to give the signal. His laugh has nothing in it of nature; how can it have? I can hear it now,—a hard sharp laugh, such as that with which strong heartless men would divide booty torn from the feeble. I leave him to his admirers.'

We must not, however, form our judgment from the opinions of one who travelled post through the country, and had a single short interview with its ruler. It should be recollected that, when Mo-

hammed assumed the command, complete anarchy prevailed in every department. The country was distracted by the conflicting pretensions of the Mamlouks, aided by the Bedouin Arabs, the Albanians, and the Turks, with many rival chieftains. The soldiers were mutinous—the finances were exhausted—property was insecure—agriculture was neglected—and commerce languished. Contrast this with the state of the country for the last sixteen years. Every thing is diametrically the opposite of what it then was. All rivalry is put down—the Bedouin Arabs are submissive—the military controuled, lodged in barracks and tents, and regularly paid—the finances prodigiously increased—new articles of produce raised—and trade carried on to an extent formerly unknown. The whole country from Alexandria to Syene is perfectly tranquil, and travellers pass unmolested, with as much freedom as on the continent. Egypt, in 1804-6, was in many respects like France under the jacobins; and the genius of the Pasha, on a more limited sphere, has often been compared to that of Buonaparte among the French. It is not pretended that the Pasha has not his failings, he has many; but to estimate his character he should be judged by the standard of other Mohammedan princes or governors—of the despotic pashas of Syria or Turkey—and which of all these can be compared to him? It is hardly fair to try him by our own notions of excellence—by European standards, when every thing—custom, religion, government—is so different. His defects are those of education and example. His improvements are the fruits of his own genius.

ART. X.—*Imaginary Conversations of Literary Men and Statesmen.* By Walter Savage Landor, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1824.

LOOKING back twenty or thirty years, we perceive Mr. Landor very gravely occupied in the production of a little volume or two of poetry, which it does any man credit to have understood. We have read the poem of 'Gebir,' and recollect something of a wrestling match between a Nereid and a shepherd, the former of whom, being conqueror, carries off a lamb. This wrestling proves however to be only the sea-nymph's mode of courtship; the happy couple, victor and vanquished, are united upon the surface of the ocean; their bridal bed is strewn at the bottom; and the admiring bridegroom is informed the next morning that he had become the progenitor of 'a mortal man above all mortal praise'—Napoleon Buonaparte!* If we do not mistake, there were also a queen

* In Mr. Landor's present work, 'Napoleon Buonaparte' is treated with as much contempt as any other person of eminence. We cannot resist giving an extract from 'Gebir,'

a queen of Egypt and a king of Spain, who persisted in building a city, though certain enchanters contrived that every thing which was built up in the day should disappear in the night. Poison and other serious occurrences brought the poem to a tragical end. We can add that, amongst much absurdity and obscurity, signs of intellectual, if not of poetical powers, excited expectations which Mr. Landor has allowed us to forget. Our hope was that time would have reduced to order a mind of some natural strength; but we believe, though Mr. Landor was no stipendiary soldier, his studies suffered an interruption from his martial ardour during the Peninsular war, and his achievements again came to an end from the difficulty of co-operating with ordinary beings. In short, Mr. Landor could neither write nor fight like any other person; his troop of horse must be trained at his own private cost, and his poems published for his own private reading.

The nature of the present work is sufficiently explained by its title, to which we have only to add, that it is distributed into thirty-five conversations, maintained by distinguished personages of various ages and countries, under whose names Mr. Landor enjoys the opportunity of inculcating the most violent opinions of all parties; protesting of course against any of them being attributed to himself. The work being of a very desultory character, our remarks must be equally so.

The reader who is attracted by the names of Southey and Porson, (vol. i. p. 39) and told to expect a specimen of their conversation, must have prepared himself for no scanty exhibition of wit, for much astute criticism, and deep erudition. How will he then be surprised to find, that these eminent individuals meet only to agree upon the merits of Mr. Wordsworth's poetry! that they talk as if they were writing commentaries and tired of it, and that their dialogue is carried on with about the same speed of alterna-

'Gebir,' which our readers may take as a specimen of the poem for better and worse. It occurs after the winning of the prize-lamb by the sea-nymph above mentioned.

She smiled, and more of pleasure than disdain
Was in her dimpled chin and liberal lip
And eyes that languished, lengthening,—just like love.
She went away; I on the wicker gate
Leaned, and could follow with my eyes alone.
The sheep she carried easy as a cloak.
But when I heard it's bleating, as I did,
And saw, she hastening on, it's hinder feet
Struggle, and from her snowy shoulder slip,
(One shoulder it's poor efforts had unveiled,)
Then, all my passions mingling fell in tears!
Restless then ran I to the highest ground
To watch her; she was gone; gone down the tide;
And the long moonbeam on the hard wet sand
Lay like a jasper column half upreared.—Book 1st.

tion, and vigour of contention, as the celebrated game at chess between the Spanish and Persian monarchs, each of whom resumed his deliberations in his own palace, as soon as the courier had arrived to announce his other majesty's last move! We protest against Mr. Landon's dialogue being supposed to furnish a specimen of Mr. Southey's conversation, and we will not consent to receive a sarcasm elaborately got up, and forced on the attention in all the importunity of italics, as representing Professor Porson's style of wit. Neither can we allow our Northern contemporary, though a much smaller personage than these, to be represented, in the space of half a dozen lines, in the several characters of an ant and a serpent; and though it is doubtless with the best intentions that Mr. Wordsworth is figured in the same fruitful allegory, first as Adam, (or Eve, we do not clearly make out which,) and secondly as an elephant, yet we know enough of that gentleman's modesty to assure ourselves that he would be satisfied with appearing in one of those characters.

We can speak with some commendation of the conversation which follows between Oliver Cromwell and Walter Noble, a leader of his party. It is at the critical period when Cromwell had determined on the death of the king, from which Noble endeavours to dissuade him. The language and manner of Cromwell's resistance is not ill imagined.

Cromwell.—You country gentlemen bring with you into the People's House a freshness and sweet savour which our citizens lack mightily. I would fain merit your esteem, heedless of these pursy fellows from hulks and warehouses, with one ear lapped by the pen behind it, and the other an heirloom, as Charles would have had it, in Laud's star-chamber. Oh! they are proud and bloody men. My heart melts; but alas! my authority is null: I am the servant of the commonwealth: I will not, dare not betray it. If Charles Stuart had only threatened my death, in the letter we ripped out of the saddle, I would have reprov'd him manfully, and turned him adrift; but others are concerned, lives more precious than mine, worn as it is with fastings, prayers, long services, and preyed upon by a pouncing disease. The Lord hath led him into the toils laid for the innocent. Foolish man! he never could eschew evil counsel.

Noble.—In comparison to you he is but as a pinnacle to a buttress. I acknowledge his weakness, I cannot wink upon his crimes. But what you visit as the heaviest of them, perhaps was not so, although the most disastrous to both parties, the bearing of arms against his people. He fought for what he considered his hereditary property; we do the same; should we be hanged for losing a lawsuit?

Cromwell.—Not unless it is the second. Thou talkest finely and foolishly, Wat, for a man of thy calm discernment. If a rogue holds a pistol to my breast, do I ask him what he is about? do I care whether his

his doublet be of dog-skin or of cat-skin? Fie upon such wicked sophisms! Marvellous, how the devil works upon good men's minds.

'Noble.—Charles was always more to be dreaded by his friends than by his enemies, and now by neither.

'Cromwell.—God forbid that Englishman should be feared by Englishman! but to be daunted by the weakest, to bend before the worst I tell thee, Walter Noble, that if Moses and the Prophets commanded me to this villainy, I would draw back and mount my horse.'—vol. i. p. 58.

Charles has but a feeble advocate in this Walter Noble. Perhaps it would not have been natural that a Roundhead should say more for him; but it would have been by no means inconsistent with Cromwell's practice in this stage of his career, to listen to the representations of a cavalier, whom dramatic propriety would have permitted to discuss the question fairly; and, though we are far from desiring to commit such a task to Mr. Landon's discretion, yet we will affirm that, after all that has been written on that period of our history, the character of Charles has never been fully and fairly depicted. It has never been shown how his character ought to be distinguished from his conduct, how much of what was wrong in the latter is to be imputed to Buckingham and Digby, how much of what is right to Clarendon; how he began life with arbitrary principles derived from, and fostered by his parents; how he discarded instead of becoming a bigot to them when their injustice was exposed; how his firmness forsook him in great perplexity and desertion, (we allude to the sacrifice of Strafford, the worst of the many fatal concessions made about the same period;) how it returned when all terms were broken with him, and he knew his cause was good; how adversity attempered his mind and enlarged his views; how patiently and piously he met the misfortunes of his latter years when there was none to help him; and with what royal dignity and Christian sanctity he suffered death when there was none to save him. There is not in the English language a more enlightened exposition of what ought to be the English constitution, (for it had then no existence,) than is contained in the Letter of Charles to his son, written when there was no earthly hope that it could profit himself; there is no exposition more free from the natural prejudices of his party, whether we consider its reference to the good of the people as the basis of all civil authority, or the just discrimination of the consequences resulting to the people from excess or defect of that authority. This letter is not sufficiently known or noticed, especially by those who are disposed to doubt the authenticity of the *ΕΙΣΑΚΩΝ*. It is entirely congenial with the spirit of that composition, and written with not less ability. In-

deed if proof of ability were the thing called for by those who impugn the authenticity of the *Eikon*, better could not be desired than the disputation between Henderson, the Scotch polemic, and Charles when all assistance was carefully removed from him. The intellectual acuteness and promptitude evinced by the king in that controversy will surprize those who have rated his capacity according to such ill judgment as is formed of men's talents by their conduct in circumstances wherein probably any course of conduct would be fatal. Their writings are better criteria. We perceive sufficient reasons to clear the *Eikon* from any imputation of being spurious. In the first place, what impostor would have sitten down to fabricate the long prayers and devout meditations with which each section concludes? They bear every mark of being ejaculated from a pious mind at intervals, and under the pressure of afflictions, of being, in short, what they import to be, composed by the king 'in his solitudes and sufferings.' What Royalist, also, writing for party purposes, would have accused Charles in such vehement and unqualified terms as those in which his self-accusations are couched, or ascribed to him such penitence and humility? Yet all this was characteristic of Charles, who was, in his latter years, perhaps the most devout Christian and impartial Royalist in the kingdom. The most beautiful portion of the work is that on parting from his wife; and the grace of conjugal affection was a matter altogether alien from the purposes of an impostor and partizan. It may be remarked also, that Milton directs his efforts to confute the work, not to impeach its authenticity; which, could he have hoped for success, he would no doubt have attempted; for he perceived with deep resentment the general tribute of respect which was paid to it by the nation, and how much it contributed to swell the tide of popular feeling and affection which had run high since the death of the king. The soi-disant Iconoclast could ill bear the thought that his party, by the means with which they won their power, had lost the voice of the people,—that old and serviceable argument which had applied itself to every emergency, and in their minds sanctified every crime. Milton at length could entertain a doubt of the people's infallibility, and, whilst in the very same work he rebukes and insults the king for presuming to set his private judgment against the judgment of the people, he rejects and reviles the judgment of the people, because they redeemed it—but too late—from the delusions which his party had inspired.

As he, (the king,) to acquit himself, hath not spared his adversaries to load them with all sorts of blame and accusation, so to him, as in his book alive, there will be used no more courtship than he uses; but what is properly his own guilt, not imputed any more to his evil counsellors,

sellors, (a ceremony used longer by the Parliament than he himself desired,) shall be laid here without circumlocutions at his own door—*That they who from the beginning, or but now of late, by what unhappiness I know not, are so much affatuated, not with his person only, but with his palpable faults, and doat upon his deformities, may have none to blame but their own folly, if they live and die in such a strooken blindness as next to that of Sodom hath not happened to any sort of men more gross or more misleading.*—*ENIGMA.* p. 6.

The vox populi was no longer oracular. It was brought to him by an adverse wind, and Milton probably discovered that where the voice of the people is the voice of God, there must be about as many gods as there are people. We return to our subject.

There is a spirit of chivalry about Mr. Landor, which constitutes him the champion of the oppressed and the sworn foe of many giants and windmills. We observed lately in the newspapers that an individual, ambitious of appearing there, has established an office for redressing wrongs gratis; but unfortunately, in the instance which fell under our notice, the individual sustaining the injuries brought a complaint against the individual redressing the injuries for injuries sustained by the redress! We almost fear that such contradictory cases may occur in the experience of Mr. Landor, who has felt himself called upon to assume a similar character. Some mischievous Italian, bent on teasing him, brings forward a couple of stories of military license, trifling if true, which are no sooner swallowed by Mr. Landor than that gentleman subjects himself to a fit of the most generous indignation, calls for a pen, and does execution upon the offender.

Pallavicini.—Your Houses of Parliament, M. Landor, for their own honour, for the honour of the service and of the nation, should have animadverted on such an outrage: he should answer for it: he should suffer for it.

Landor.—These two fingers have more power, Marchese, than those two Houses. A pen! he shall live for it. What, with their animadversions, can they do like this?—*Conversation 9.*

Having taken this signal vengeance upon the culprit Mr. Landor becomes calm, prorogues the two legislative authorities and closes the chapter. To speak seriously, if Mr. Landor had not put this puissant flourish into his own mouth, we should have supposed it was contrived for some unhappy author finishing his studies in the retirement of Moorfields.

In noticing the absurdities and perversities of this author, we are far from denying that he is a man of knowledge and abilities, which nothing but his singular deficiency of judgment could have rendered useless. In the absence of any rational or consistent

consistent design, these volumes display many random thoughts forcibly expressed, pointed invective thrown out as chance directed, a few reflections which are just and valuable, and a lively imagination, though it be rather exuberant than select. Others may be more fastidious, but we have been able to get over much bad taste, many elaborate epigrams, strange prose-metaphors, and politics in verse, to find entertainment in the easier and better parts of the book. Readers less easily pleased than we are will be disposed, we think, to allow that the following passage is not without merit.

‘An English officer was sitting with his back against the base of the great Pyramid. He sometimes looked towards those of elder date and ruder materials before him, sometimes was absorbed in thought, and sometimes was observed to write in a pocket-book with great rapidity. “If he were not writing,” said a French naturalist to a young ensign, “I should imagine him to have lost his eye-sight by the ophthalmia. He does not see us: level your rifle: we cannot find a greater curiosity.”

‘The arts prevailed: the officer slid with extended arms from his resting place; the blood, running from his breast, was audible as a swarm of insects in the sand. No other sound was heard. Powder had exploded; life had past away; not a vestige remained of either.

‘“Let us examine his papers,” said the naturalist.

‘“Pardon me, sir,” answered the Ensign; “my first inquiry on such occasions is *what’s o’clock?* and afterwards I pursue my mineralogical researches.”

‘At these words he drew forth the dead man’s watch, and stuck it into his sash,* while with the other hand he snatched out a purse, containing some zecchins; every part of the dress was examined, and not quite fruitlessly.

‘“See! a locket with a miniature of a young woman!” Such it was—a modest and lovely countenance.

‘“Ha! ha!” said the ensign; “a few touches, a very few touches, I can give them, and Adèle will take this for me. Two inches higher, and the ball had split it—what a thoughtless man he was! There is gold in it too: it weighs heavy. Pest! an old woman at the back! grey as a cat.”

‘It was the officer’s mother in her old age as he had left her. There was something of sweet piety, not unsaddened by presage, in the countenance. He severed it with his knife, and threw it into the bosom of her son. Two foreign letters and two pages in pencil were the contents of the pocket-book. Two locks of hair had fallen out; one rested on his eyelashes, for the air was motionless, the other was drawn to the earth by his blood. The papers were taken to General Kleber by the

* This is somewhat out of keeping. In the French army there are no ensigns; and sashes are never worn. A painter who should take his subject from a Peninsular campaign, might as well represent a Highlander in a cocked hat, or Mr. Landon in the uniform of the regulars.

naturalist

naturalist and his associate, with a correct recital of the whole occurrence, excepting the appendages of watch, zecchins, and locket.

"Young man," said Kleber gravely, "is this a subject of merriment to you? Who knows whether you or I may not be deprived of life as suddenly and unexpectedly? He was not your enemy; perhaps he was writing to a mother or sister. God help them! these suffer most from war. The heart of the far-distant is the scene of its most cruel devastations. Leave the papers: you may go: call the interpreter."

"He entered.—"Read this letter."

"*My adored Henry*" "Give it me," cried the general; he blew a strong fire from his pipe and consumed it.

"Read the other"—*My kind-hearted and beloved son* "Stop: read the last line only."

The interpreter answered, "it contains merely the name and address."

"I asked no questions: read them, and write them down legibly."

He took the paper, tore off the margin and placed the line in his snuff-box.

"Give me that paper in pencil, with a mark of sealing-wax on it."

He snatched it, shrunk, and shook some tobacco on it. It was no sealing-wax. It was a drop of blood; one from the heart; one only; dry, but seeming fresh.—vol. i. p. 129.

Had there been a predominance of such passages as these, they should have protected the work from our censure; but on the contrary, the volumes in general are characterized by a spirit of pugnacity which, while it takes all its tenderness from criticism, satisfies us that rebuke is wholesome. The objects of this spirit are sufficiently multifarious, but the nearest are the most trampled upon. Our opinion of Italian society, though milder than Mr. Landor's, would not have led us to take up our abode amongst the Italians. Yet Mr. Landor has not chosen ill for himself. We know well that it is a fitting abode for men who like prodigiously to talk of freedom, but never to see it about them; for men whose dependants are expected to shout liberty once in seven years, and go home to shake at an angry look; whose key-note is the independence of mankind, and to whom any thing in mankind but abject servility is insufferable. It is natural enough then, that Mr. Landor should make his home in the midst of a society which is his perfect scorn; amid venality, bad faith, suspicion, cowardice, the prostration of private and the extinction of social virtue, (i. 184.)—where the national religion rests on peculation and fattens on vice, (vol. i. p. 185.)—where the native women have lost all delicacy of character, and even the English women are chiefly those who are little respected at home, arrogant, presumptuous, suspicious, credulous, and speaking one of another

more

more maliciously than untruly,* (vol. i. p. 190.)—where virtues and duties are vicarious; (vol. i. p. 210.)—where the most trifling of all pursuits is called *virtù*, every thing excellent is *pelegrino*, softness is *morbidezza*, a dinner is served up *alla contemplazione*, and a lamb's fry is *cosa stupenda*; where a patriot is a man unfriendly to all established government, who would loosen all the laws as impediments to the liberty of action, with a reserve of those which secure to him the fruits of rapine and confiscation; (vol. ii. p. 140.)—where the aristocracy are the children of sharpers from behind the counter;—where counts and marquesses are more plentiful than sheep and swine, (vol. ii. p. 248.)—where the judges are bribed with harlotry—and where robbery and murder come off triumphant—Here, we repeat, Mr. Landor has done wisely to domesticate. It is in such an Utopian retreat as this that philosophers of his cast seek an asylum from the contact of honest independence and the restraints of a well ordered society.

In a conversation (vol. i. p. 251.) between the author and the Abbé Delille, there is much minute criticism upon French poetry. On this occasion Mr. Landor, being manager as well as performer, takes care to allot the best part to himself, and the abbé cuts a very inconsiderable figure. Indeed it may be observed that wherever Mr. Landor is one of the interlocutors, the responses of the other have about the same proportion of vigour and sagacity, that obtains in the more elementary dialogues between Tutor and Charles. The abbé, therefore, stands forward as the feeble prop of French poesy, in whom we can admire nothing but the meekness with which he endures the contemptuous attacks of his adversary; and in this game between the right hand and the left, it is amusing enough to observe the exultation of the winner. French poetry may be better defended, provided the right ground be taken; and in order to this it is necessary at once and without reserve to relinquish the cause of all tragedies and heroics, of all sentimental and romantic poetry in the language. We should then come to the *sylvæ* of the country, to the madrigals, epigrams, vers d'amour, baisers, and to the strongest point of defence, the works of Boileau, which Mr. Landor, with his usual ill fortune, has chosen as the main point of attack. Boileau is the most successful of French poets, because he chose those walks of poetry for which only the French language is fitted. He was the fair rival of Pope in all his writings except the Epistle to Eloisa; for from any attempt at poetry of an impassioned character the Frenchman judiciously forbore. It is not our design,

* This elegant form of invective was used by one whose language of reproach was discriminating as well as severe, and to whom we beg to give it back; 'quasi sistantes, stupra et flagitia invicem objectavere, neuter falsè.'—Tac. Hist. i. 74.

for it is highly unnecessary, to support the reputation of Boileau against the criticisms of Mr. Landor. They tend to convince the incredulous that an author who published many volumes has written sundry bad lines and weak couplets. They also show that he did not employ a finer modulation of rhythm than his native language admitted. We know, somewhat better than Mr. Landor does, the incurable infirmities of French verse, and the spirit of pedantry by which the tragedians crippled it still further, substituting bad mechanism for natural disability. But we bring forward these facts in favour of Boileau,* and not against him. With regard to the particular defect instanced, it is true that the French heroic is necessarily divided into two cadences, but it is not necessarily, nor indeed is it often, confined to those two. One line

‘Soupire, étend les bras, ferme l’œil, et s’endort,’

may express four actions each by its respective movement, and one can scarcely read it without perceiving that it sounds as it ought. By some accident, however, Mr. Landor has come to a just conclusion upon the general subject, and the most unlearned adversary and the worst directed attack shall not tempt us to say a word in defence of French versification.

Amongst other incongruous personages, who meet in Mr. Landor's pages, we have to number Samuel Johnson and John Horne Tooke. They could only have been brought together by some such stratagem as effected the meeting between Johnson and Wilkes. Mr. Landor is ignorant of Tooke's sentiments in ascribing to him a panegyric upon Johnson's Dictionary, for which he entertained more than his ordinary portion of spleen. In all literary history, (not less disgusting than political,) we know of nothing more pitiful than Tooke's comment, whether for the envy which leads him to make light of a work which he was peculiarly capable of estimating, or for the miserable hypocrisy with which he endeavours to dissemble his spite by declaring that he could never read the preface without tears. Dignified, noble and pathetic as that composition is, beyond all others wherein great authors have adverted to themselves and their works, we refuse to believe that it ever moistened the eyes of Horne Tooke. The Dictionary, no doubt, was capable of improvements, and has received them from other hands, according to the old allegory that

* If Boileau had quarrelled with his native tongue, and indulged in Latin like Mr. Landor, he would scarcely have given way to his classical vein in such verses as these, which describe the effect of Buonaparte's conquests:

‘Atqui mollior ala servituti

Certe gentibus incubat receptis . . .

Quod ferrum fuit antea, ecce plumbum.”—*It.* p. 189.

or as those which we find vol. i. p. 227, and which we suppose are also meant for Latin.

the dwarf sees farther than the giant provided he stand upon the giant's shoulders. Tooke accuses Johnson of being defective in a scheme of etymology which Johnson never proposed to accomplish. It was not a part of Johnson's design to give the roots of English words; he did not pretend to trace them to their aboriginal country, but only to the country whence they last transmigrated. Examples of this practice are adduced in the *Errata*, as if Johnson were answerable for not executing a plan which Tooke only contemplated, and which is equally defective after all. That part of the Dictionary will not be complete till the words are traced, not only to the language whence they first came, or to that whence they last came, but also in chronological order *through* every language of their intermediate progress.

Mr. Landor's mind is a self-constituted court of oyer and terminer, ready to try all causes which may come before it; and this court being composed of the most heterogeneous elements, and profoundly ignorant of the extent of its proper jurisdiction, passes upon each and every matter at issue, and upon all parties litigant, a sudden, peremptory, and unqualified sentence. The French nation, we find, are only to be restrained from mischief by the most rigid government, 'they must be scourged into good humour, and starved into content.' 'You Spaniards' (this judgment is delivered in a dedication to General Mina, vol. ii. p. viii.) 'You Spaniards have committed two great errors: the first in not removing to Cuba six or seven hundred known and proven traitors, condemning three or four of the most eminent to death; . . . Now, to speak seriously on a matter of life and death, we hold this to be one of the most inexcusable passages in Mr. Landor's work, inasmuch as the circumstances adverted to existed very recently, and may exist again, and the measure recommended is practical and feasible, and in truth exactly that measure which, should the circumstances again exist, the parties concerned would be most in peril of adopting. In civil wars the very name of treason ought by all parties to be especially avoided. They whose partizans suffer the punishment of treason, must in turn inflict it, and retaliation once at work will overthrow all judicial difficulties, till executions are aggravated into murders, and these multiplied into massacres.

If we have any thing more to observe, it is upon a conversation between Maurocordato and Colocotroni, in which Mr. Landor brings his poetical and military experience to the aid of the Greeks.

'The notes which I intended for this conversation were numerous; but as they contained some particulars which I think it imprudent to divulge at present, I shall insert some verses in their place, not very remote from the subject.'—vol. ii. p. 234.

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The verses are consummately prudent, for they divulge no meaning whatever. With all Mr. Landon's caution, however, some of the military measures which he had suggested to the Greeks are of so efficacious a nature that he cannot resist showing them off. The principal ruse de guerre which he recommends to them is to surprize the Turks when they least expect it, by throwing away their muskets and taking to bows and arrows. (vol. ii. p. 217.)—Equal astonishment is to result from the adoption of cork armour, than which it appears nothing is more cool and refreshing. (vol. ii. p. 223.)—In common prudence Mr. Landon ought to have put these stratagems into verse. On the contrary they are expounded to all the world in Mr. Landon's easiest prose: for aught we know, the Turks may get hold of the bows and arrows first, and it is awful to think on the fate of the defenceless Greeks, left with nothing but steel and gunpowder, when the Turks should fall upon them with bows and arrows in their hands and cased in cork!

In conclusion, whatever measure of absurdity there may be in Mr. Landon's work, we desire to do him full justice: there is also in it a good deal to be admired, and some little to be approved.

ART. XI.—*A Sketch of Old England by a New Englandman, in a Series of Letters to his Brother.* 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 305. 250. New York. 1822.

TRUTH, though not always palatable, is always wholesome, and nations, like individuals, ought to be grateful for the intelligence which detects and the skill which remedies their diseases, although the medicine should be bitter or the operation painful. In this spirit we approach the consideration of the 'Sketch of Old England by a New Englandman;' and although we cannot but regret that he has found so much to blame, we are still thankful that we have fallen into the hands of so enlightened, so liberal, and so candid a censor. We must not conceal, however, that the object of this amiable writer is not the instruction or improvement of Old England; our share in the benefit which his work is to do mankind is only incidental and inferential: his great motive is to raise the Americans in their own opinion and that of the world, by contrasting their freedom, happiness, civilization and refinement, with the slavery, bigotry, ignorance, barbarism and misery of this unhappy and degraded nation. How far it was necessary to publish two volumes to stimulate American modesty into a better opinion of American society, we do not pretend to say, but we can venture to pronounce that the portion
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of his work which shows 'Old England' her real situation is far from being superfluous. A Grecian sage has concisely expressed the difficulty of knowing one's-self. Our New England monitor, who probably never heard of the sage or the apophthegm, has, by the mere light of his own natural genius, arrived at the same conclusion; and when we look at ourselves in his mirror we are obliged to confess that England offers a very lamentable example of self-deception on almost every point connected with our manners, our history, our geography, our arts, and even our language. We have eyes but they see not, ears but they hear not; and until we opened these volumes of fraternal expostulation and friendly advice we had no conception of the grossness of our folly and the depth of our ignorance.

The publication is anonymous. No name, indeed, could add to the respect we bear the author, but we confess we should have been severely mortified could we not have relieved our feelings by directing our own and our readers' gratitude individually and personally to the object of our literary admiration: it was, therefore, with no small pleasure we learned that the writer of these incomparable Letters was Mr. J. K. Paulding,* a poet and politician of the first grade, and singularly noted in America for the liberality of his principles and the suavity of his disposition.

We could wish that the benevolent writer had condescended to give us a few dates, and that he had not so frequently left blanks or asterisks * * * * * for names of persons whom he visited or of places where he sojourned. These petty details are by no means necessary to increase our confidence; but, 'as dogs will bay the brightest moon,' we fear there may be those who will pretend to doubt whether any such traveller ever existed, and whether the volumes are not a mere compilation from radical newspapers, treasonable pamphlets, blasphemous libels, vulgar jest-books, and all that species of ribald literature. Without participating in these suspicions, candour obliges us to confess that there are little points here and there which at first sight seem to require some explanation; but we must also add that the explanation, wherever it happens to be afforded, invariably proves the author's accuracy, and restores him to a fuller possession of our confidence. Mr. Paulding informs us, for instance, in his second letter, that *he invaded London under cover of a fog so dense that people were obliged to carry lights to find their way through the streets*, (vol. i. p. 13) and in the next page of the same letter he entertains his reader with 'a most capital colloquy' which he overheard between two Englishmen in the street, and which he justly instances as a proof

* Besides these Letters, Mr. Paulding has published '*Letters to John Bull*,' '*Letters from the South*,' '*The Back Woodsman*,' and various other poems.

of the *frigid stupidity* of the people amongst whom he has just arrived.

"*Fine day.*"

"*Very—(um.)*"

"*Any news to-day?*"

"*Can't tell.*"

"*Wife well?*"

"*Tolerable, thank ye.*"

"*Fine day—how's Betsey?*"

"*Middling.*"

"*How is John?*"

"*So-so.*"

"*Aunt and uncle pretty well?*"

"*Indifferent, thank ye. How's your wife?*"

"*Complaining a little, thank you.*"

"*Old gentleman well?*"

"*I can't say he is.*"

"*Very fine weather!*"

"*Delightful.*"

Now it may, we admit, be asked whether this '*capital colloquy*,' of which *fine days*, and *fine weather*, and *delightful weather* form the chief topic, is not a little inconsistent with the time of the year in which the author represents it to have taken place? and whether he does not herein exhibit rather more of a pleasant talent at invention than comports with the character of a sober relator of facts? We think not. Two things appear to have particularly excited the indignation of our traveller on his very outset, viz. the badness of the climate and the *stupidity* of the people; and surely he could produce no better proof of both than the having seen two fellows '*crawl up to each other*' in the Strand, in a raw November fog, '*offer a dead hand to shake,*' and congratulate themselves on such *delicious weather*!

'Among the few objects I could see, was a person with a lanthorn, who I suppose, like *Æsop*, was looking about for an honest man. You may think, my dear brother, how scarce honest men must be in London.'—vol. i. p. 13.

In these three lines there is an admirable combination of learning, truth and pleasantry. Heretofore the '*old world*' supposed that Diogenes was the person who walked out with a lanthorn to seek an honest man: we now learn that it was the fabulist, and not the cynic. What can be more humorous than the supposition that the person who appeared to carry a light to find his own way in a fog, was, in fact, merely looking about for an honest man! and what so sarcastically just as the inference deduced from it, that honest men are scarce in London! The author's modesty forbids

his finishing the passage with an avowal that the lanthorn-man's search was not quite vain, since he met Mr. Paulding.

'Alighting from the stage,' (for Mr. Paulding made these important discoveries as he was driving through the streets,) there was a great contest for the privilege of carrying his trunks, like—what takes place at Calais, or Cadiz, or Smyrna, or New York?—oh! no—'like that of the Greeks and Trojans for the body of Patroclus.' A *Greek*, as he slyly intimates, 'carried'—the body? no;—the trunk? no, 'he carried the day'!—it seems, however, that he carried neither the trunk nor the day—

'for,' continues Mr. Paulding, 'a good natured person apprised me that if I permitted their attendance, I should probably never see my trunks again; I was not aware of the necessity of this caution, as you know, in our own dear honest country, no man hesitates a moment to trust his baggage with the first porter that offers, be he black or white.'—vol. i. p. 14.

The mode in which our traveller argues from this fact is very logical, however humiliating the result must be to the British people at large.

'This is *not* one of those solitary instances from which no general conclusion can be drawn. It affords *decisive proof* that at least one class of people in this country is not as honest as the same class in ours.'—vol. i. p. 14.

'To escape the hacks I called a hack'—the last of these *hacks* was, no doubt, a hackney-coach; what the former means we pretend not to guess. In this hack, be it what it will, he is conveyed, not however without shameful and characteristic imposition, 'to the * * * * * coffee-house, the name of which,' he says, 'being derived from my own country, attracted the *yearnings of my inclination*.'

The coffee-house whose name *attracted the yearnings* of our traveller's *inclination*, ought not to be left in doubt; we have therefore run through the list of coffee-houses in London, and can find but two *names* which could have had this sympathetic effect on his bowels, viz. the New England Coffee-house in Threadneedle-street, and the New York Coffee-house in Sweeting's-alley. We regret to be obliged to add that, whichever of these coffee-houses Mr. Paulding honoured with his presence, he found it to be American only in name; for the waiters were exceedingly attentive, and the landlord made him a bow at his very entrance; 'all which,' as he shrewdly observes, 'being contrary to the nature of an Englishman, I took it for granted that he meant to cheat me;' and so he did, for the first day he gave him 'a bottle of half-guinea wine of a pestiferous quality.' Whether the half-guinea wine was port wine, currant wine, gooseberry wine, or elder wine,

wine, we are not informed, nor can we guess in what way (though bad wine might *poison*) it could be said to act pestiferously. This execrable and anonymous stuff, however, the landlord 'pronounced to be such as Lord Somebody always called for' when that distinguished nobleman dined at his house.

'The next day he gave me still worse, finding I had put up with the first, and charged me still higher, on the score of its being a favourite drink of some noble Earl. The third day it was still worse and still dearer, because his Grace of * * * * * always drank it in preference to any other.'—vol. i. p. 18.

Honesty is the best policy. Had the landlord, instead of making our traveller a bow, and charging ten shillings for a bottle of wine, treated him with an honest independence of manner, and been content with moderate prices for his beverage, Mr. Paulding would have probably made his fortune, by acquainting the fashionable world whether it was at the New England, in *Thread-needle-street*, or the New York, in *Sweeting's-lane*, that 'Lord Somebody, and the noble Earl of * * *', and his Grace the Duke of * * * * *, are in the habit of dining.'

By way of atonement, we suppose, for his misconduct, the landlord advised our traveller to buy a certain book called the *Picture of London*, 'which (says he) I did, and very much consolation it afforded me.' Indeed the greater part of the historical matter, much of the legal learning, and the whole of what regards the fine arts as connected with the metropolis are copied from this same *Picture of London*; and we should not have been sorry if, in spite of the landlord's low bows and high charges, our author had by name acknowledged the services of so great a literary benefactor as he turns out to have been.

Mr. Paulding escaped on the fourth auspicious morning from the symposiac rendezvous of the peerage, and fixed himself in a lodging in * * * * * Street, with an 'excellent old landlady,' who seems to have made but a poor return for the affection with which he celebrates her. Indeed nothing can show the disgusting duplicity of the English so much as the conduct of this woman, for, while our traveller praises her, and the neatness of her house, and the civility of her behaviour, with all the sincerity of an American, the abominable hag was amusing herself in *quizzing Jonathan*, (as we dare say she expressed it to her gossips,) and in gulling her unsuspecting friend with such stories as the following.

'She has good blood in her veins, if blood be an hereditary commodity; she claims descent from the Tudors and Plantagenets, and combines the conflicting claims of the houses of York and Lancaster. Though too well bred to boast, she sometimes used to mention these matters, until one day I advised her, *in jest*, to procure a champion to

tilt against young Parson Dymoke for the broom at the ensuing coronation, since her claim was far superior to the Hanoverian upstarts. The good old soul took the joke ill, and I was sorry for it. She has a number of noble relatives among the respectable old-fashioned nobility, who still possess that sturdy antique morality and honesty now so scarce among this class throughout all Christendom. Their *occasional visits in the dusk of the evening*, and the contemplation of her own august descent, seem to constitute her little fund of worldly enjoyment. — vol. i. p. 9.

Deception is always cruel; but to deceive an open-hearted confiding stranger who was about to write a book,—to take advantage of a little republican vanity, which was tickled at boarding with a Plantagenet, for the purpose of rendering him ridiculous, is so base and profligate, that we did not need the hint about '*occasional visitors in the dusk of the evening*,' to guess into what kind of society our poor New Englander had fallen.

Mr. Paulding makes several excursions in the neighbourhood of London; a city, by the way, which he informs us was built by certain *Goths* from *Scandinavia*, who (proleptically, we presume) compounded its present name from *Lux*, a grove, and *Den*, a town—because, as he pleasantly observes, 'it is a den of thieves.' Of these excursions he declines any minute description, wanting, as he candidly owns, both time and patience. This is the more to be regretted, as in the few notices which he gives of his rambles he has afforded us some very new and important information—and very necessary too—'for *nothing*,' as he elegantly tells us, 'can equal our ignorance of *every thing* that is not directly *under our noses*.' We lament to add, that he proves us to be equally ignorant of many things which *are under our noses*.

The climate and the practice of drinking beer form a combination very detrimental, it seems, both to the picturesque and moral aspect of our country.

'It rains or snows about one hundred and fifty days in each year, and of the remainder between fifty and sixty are cloudy—the grass and the foliage are so *deadly green* that they almost look blue, and resemble the effect of distance, which *you know*,' (we beg our readers to mark this extraordinary phenomenon)—'communicates a bluish tint to the landscape. To me there is something chilly and ungenial in the English summer, and it offends me hugely to hear a fat puffing beer-drinking fellow bawling to his neighbour "a fine day," when the sun looks as if it might verify the theory of one of the *old Greeks*, that it was nothing more than a great round ball of copper. Whether this melancholy character of the climate, or the practice of drinking beer in such enormous quantities, or both combined, have given that peculiar cast of bluff and gross stupidity to the people, I cannot say.'—vol. i. p. 25.

Of

Of the few suburban places which Mr. Paulding condescends to notice, the first is *Canons*, 'because it is connected with the name of our favourite Pope.' This visit is the more complimentary, as the place visited has long ceased to exist, and as the poet always denied his having made any allusion to it; but it gives the New Englander an opportunity of quoting eight lines from the description of Timon's villa, which cannot fail to be very much relished by his correspondent. We are at a loss, after all, to account for the peculiar reverence with which our author combines the recollections of Pope and Canons, for in the very next passage he, with some degree of irreverence, which betrays him into a slight grammatical inaccuracy, exclaims, 'Pope had better held his tongue about Timon's villa:—in this we cannot agree, for if he had, our traveller would never have visited Canons, and his brother might have died in ignorance of the quotation abovementioned.'

He next visits Islington—'A place,' he says, 'near London, pleasantly situated, which *deserves to be mentioned* as the scene of—Goldsmith's excellent elegy on the death of a mad dog!—vol. i. p. 27. This excellent elegy, which all our readers, we presume, have by heart, has hitherto been looked on as a piece of burlesque doggerel. The New Englander has, with a gravity almost miraculous, corrected this vulgar error; and admiring votaries will, doubtless, in all future time, cross the Atlantic to visit the 'scene of this pathetic event.' However this may be, we are confident that our traveller will be regarded as the second founder of the village; and we shall indeed be greatly surprised, if the next tavern that is licensed there, does not put up the *Paulding's Head*.

He then proceeds to Twickenham, where Pope's villa 'once was,' and where his grotto is still to be seen, 'a fantastic monument of expensive folly.' We had heard that Pope, having no communication between his front and his back garden but by an arched way under the high road, had, with much good taste, and at the expense of a few bits of spar, endeavoured to hide the necessary defect by giving the passage the air of a grotto—we now submit to our traveller's better authority, who sees no use in this 'flagrant piece of frippery.' On another and more important point too, he brings us new light: Twickenham, he assures us, is 'a village exactly opposite *Greenwich*, and connected with it by a bridge.'—vol. i. p. 29. Greenwich and Twickenham we always knew were on opposite sides of the river, but we fancied that they were nearly twenty miles asunder, and that all London was interposed between them; nor were we aware of any bridge at Twickenham, which, however, is a convenience

ence for which the inhabitants of that part of the country cannot be too grateful to the American traveller.

In this same neighbourhood of Greenwich, says our judicious inquirer—

‘I saw a grand house, which I learned was built by a noted brewer of that village. This monument of the inordinate beer drinking propensity of the nation is one of the largest private dwellings I have seen in this country. The story went, that it was finally devised to an Oxfordshire baronet, who not dealing in beer could not afford to keep up the establishment. He accordingly sold every thing *but the walls*, and here it stands, ready for the next portly (*quare porter*) brewer, who shall be smitten with the desire of building up a name with *stone and mortar*.’—vol. i. p. 33.

May we venture here to observe that if the *walls* be standing, stone and mortar are the only articles in which the new proprietor *cannot* indulge?

Mr. Paulding next visits Osterly House, which, says he,—

‘Attracted my notice, not so much for its magnificence, as its history. Every schoolboy has heard of Sir Thomas Graham, the great merchant, who built the Royal Exchange, and gave such grand entertainments to Queen Elizabeth. There is an old story, that the queen being at a great entertainment at Osterley, found fault with the court as being too large, and gave her opinion, that it would look better divided into two parts. Sir Thomas, like another Aladdin, that very night caused the alteration to be made; so that next morning the queen looking out, saw the court divided according to her taste. Her majesty, it is said, was exceedingly gratified with this proof of his gallantry; but passed, what was considered rather a sore joke upon Sir Thomas, saying, “that a house was much easier divided than united.” Lady GRAHAM and Sir Thomas were at issue on a point of domestic supremacy.’—vol. i. p. 34.

This allusion to Sir Thomas Graham startled even our confidence; we at first suspected an error of the press; but the subsequent mention of Lady Graham’s name, and finding in another part of the book a reference to the same story of ‘Sir Thomas Graham and Queen Elizabeth,’ we are forced to submit our doubts to the authority of our excellent guide, and to believe that Sir Thomas Graham built the Royal Exchange.

Our New Englander now proceeds to Oxford: he had heard, he says, that the principal street was a very fine one;—but the curse of the country still pursued him, and he entered the city in so thick a fog that he saw neither street nor any thing else.

‘The next morning, however, made glorious amends, for it was—a wonder in England—a fine sunshiny morning, which is so uncommon here, that people look for an earthquake or a French invasion shortly afterwards.’—vol. i. p. 39.

As there has been no French invasion since the days of King John, and there is scarcely a record of an earthquake in England, we were anxious to hear how Oxford looked under the unparalleled circumstance of a sunshiny day. Our traveller, however, was still unlucky; for, not to say that the fog returned more dense than ever, it happened that just at the moment of his visit, a tailor of the town had quarrelled with the vice-chancellor about a debt due from one of the students of Brazen Nose. The vice-chancellor employed the *senior wrangler* to argue the point with the tailor. The senior wrangler (the first and the last, be it remembered, that Oxford ever saw) was defeated—then came a *terre filius*; him also the undaunted tailor overthrew: then came excommunication—

‘And the recreant tailor brought all the curses of Ernulphus upon him: he was cursed in all the moods and tenses in Latin and English, and would have been cursed in Greek and Hebrew had any of the present professors been sufficiently versed in these tongues.’—vol. i. p. 42.

This untoward event prevented our New Englander from seeing modern Oxford, although he lingered there a week in the vain hope that this affair—which interrupted all pleasure, all business, all inquiry—might be terminated. He was therefore reduced to hide himself from this dire confusion in the Bodleian, where he found ‘many notices of the early events which occurred in different ages:’ an elegant periphrasis, we suppose, for what are vulgarly called *books*.

‘As such,’ adds our learned author, ‘they are highly worthy of notice; and if I had possessed sufficient time and patience I would have made copious extracts from them.’—vol. i. p. 44.

He does, however, find time and patience to copy a dozen pages from two ‘old books in the Bodleian.’ Those rare bibliographical curiosities, which furnish the whole of what our author says of Oxford, are Wood’s *Athenæ* and Strype’s *Memorials*; and we cannot sufficiently admire the zeal for knowledge which induced him to tarry a week at Oxford, in a fog, for the purpose of making extracts from two volumes, which he might have found, by the help of a lanthorn, on any stall in London.

If his account of Oxford in former days be somewhat tedious, his authorities, as we have seen, are solely to blame: when he draws on his own resources he is strikingly concise, as our readers will admit, when we assure them that, although he says Oxford was never visited by a more enthusiastic votary, all he tells us of it is condensed into the following passage:—‘I must not forget

* It was, we presume, one of these professors who helped our erudite author to a quotation from *Xephelin* in the original *Latin*.

to inform you, that there is no place in Christendom where they say their prayers so fast as at Oxford.'—vol. i. p. 54.

On his return from this inauspicious visit, his eye was caught by a rose, which, as we understand him, peered above the palisades of a little garden that bordered the road. Of this flower he meditates the seizure; and nothing can exceed the dexterous evolutions by which he effects his purpose. We cordially join in the exultation which he expresses at carrying off his prize without being, as he says, 'caught in a man-trap, shot by a spring-gun, or prosecuted afterwards for a trespass.' This, Mr. Paulding adds, he 'records as the first miracle* which happened to him in this country.' In this we agree with him; though we cannot avoid saying at the same time, that we think him less ingenuous than usual. He leaves his indignant countrymen to suppose that roses are common in England, which he well knows is not the fact. True it is, that we have roses, and indeed have had them from an early period—thus Strabo, *Anglia gaudet rosis*, England rejoices in roses—but then they were dog-roses. The garden-rose has always been a kind of prodigy among us; hence the powerful artillery with which our traveller found it every where protected. We have little doubt that as he walked on with his valuable capture, 'in the button-hole of his coat,' he was followed by all the boys and girls of the village, *as if the bears were in procession.*

We have not space to follow him through an interesting and profitable tour through the midland counties and part of North Wales, in which he found the Severn to be less than the Mississippi, the Wye than the Hudson, and Bala-pool than Lake Superior. To confess the truth, the author indulges in so sarcastic a vein of pleasantry at the expense of our diminutive 'puddles' and gutters, (for he will not allow them to be termed lakes and rivers,) that we feel almost ashamed of them ourselves. All the waters of the Island, he says, might be poured into Lake Superior without causing any undulation in it. After this, we almost doubt whether we shall ever assume sufficient courage to term our mole-hill of an island *Great Britain* again; notwithstanding the amiable author, with a view to soothe the mortification, which he knows we cannot but experience, has the *bonhomme* to cry, with a feeling and taste that rival Johnson's celebrated exclamation at Iona, 'far be it from me to flout these people for not having larger rivers, higher mountains, finer waterfalls, and broader lakes!'

* The author reverts again to this 'miracle,' which appears to have made an awful impression on his mind: nor can it be wondered at, since, as he faithfully assures his correspondent, 'spring-guns and man-traps are all the welcome provided for strangers on English ground.'—vol. i. p. 99.

In the course of this tour Mr. Paulding is every where struck with the miseries of the population; and he laments exceedingly, that 'throughout all England rents are *no longer* paid in *kind*, the only just and equitable mode towards a tenantry;' but, on the contrary, he says, 'rents are *now* only paid in *money*.' He does not exactly say when it was, that throughout all England rents were paid in *kind*, nor from what precise period the introduction of *money* rents may be dated; but we infer from the contrast which he draws between *his* country and *ours*, that there is no such thing as a money rent known in the happy regions of New England. We think we can guess why no money rents are paid in the back settlements; but we should be glad to know whether in the neighbourhood of New York or Philadelphia all rents are paid in kind; and if so, by what process the landlords convert the milk, and butter, and hay, and corn into broad-cloth, cutlery, or the Quarterly Review—an article, it seems, of prime necessity on the other side of the Atlantic. Are we to suppose an American land proprietor, when he happens to visit Washington, travels like a patriarch in the midst of his flocks and herds, and, on his arrival, pays into a banker's hands, to answer current expenses, a balance of calves, sucking pigs, turkies, and Indian corn?

On tithes and taxes Mr. Paulding descants with equal profundity.

In vain has it been urged that both these come eventually out of the pocket of the landlord. *I say they do not*: they come from the sweat of the peasant's brow—the labour of his hands—the privation of his comforts. Every man who looks closely at England will distinctly perceive that both tithes and taxes are paid by the tenant, and not by the landlord.—vol. i. p. 141.

This proposition is so clear that we do not think it worth while to stop to inquire how it then happens that land *tithe-free*, or on which the *land-tax* has been redeemed, produces a proportionably higher rent to the landlord. This and similar anomalies must not be permitted to disturb the assertions of so powerful an authority as this Adam Smith of New England.

Pitiable indeed is the situation to which these complicated evils have brought the starving population of England; and what is still more lamentable, Mr. Paulding foresaw, in the year 1821, that there was no possible remedy for these evils, which, instead of diminishing, must of necessity increase *ad infinitum*.

'The people look to parliamentary reform, and the consequent reduction of taxes, as the means of relieving their distresses; and they remain quiet in the hope of *future impossibilities*. Could they by any impossibility be relieved from their burdens, and rise into a state of comparative

parative competency, they would be—what they were—worthy of being the ancestors of our countrymen! but such is not even to be hoped without a revolution. The government cannot if it would, and would not if it could, diminish the taxes.’—vol. i. p. 141.

As this must have been written with a knowledge that the government had, between 1816 and 1821, taken off *eighteen millions* of taxes, we conclude that it will not at all change our author’s opinion to hear that, since he wrote, the government, which neither could nor would diminish the taxes, has taken off above *eight millions* more. These, we too well know, are the petty arts by which ministers endeavour to throw discredit on the opinions of the enlightened friends of liberty; and we probably owe to a wish on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make these volumes appear ridiculous, that illusory measure, the reduction of the assessed taxes.

Amongst the most monstrous of the oppressions of the ministry on the poor, was, as our author pathetically remarks, the vote of a million—to build churches!

‘This appropriation of a million sterling of the over-burthened people’s money is I do not hesitate to say, *nothing better than a robbery*, committed upon them by the prince and the government, for the sole purpose of putting a deception on the world. Much more good would have been done if it had been deducted from the amount of *yearly taxes*—this would have made a difference of two millions to the nation.’—vol. i. p. 168.

We recommend this passage to the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and, indeed, we doubt not that it will be thought worthy of some notice even at Washington. It proves that by *not* raising the additional million we should, by some sympathetic operation, (which however the author does not explain,) have taken off another million from the existing public burthens. This, as the author justly states, would make a clear difference of *two* millions to the people; and what is still more satisfactory, the saving of the *single* sum of one million, to be raised on one single occasion, would have wiped off two millions *annually* from the public expenditure *for ever*.

Our author proceeds with equal ability to take another, but not less judicious, view of this heart-rending subject.

‘These *two* millions—(he has clearly proved that *one* is *two*)—these two millions would have prevented a great many people from becoming paupers; or supposing it had been appropriated to *feeding, clothing and educating* some of the thousands of little half-naked, half-starved, and wholly ignorant wretches who prowl about this city.’—vol. i. p. 168.

He supposes, we see, that our churches are not to be built *by hands*; he looks, it seems, upon each of them as a yawning sepulchre

chire which, some how or other, is to swallow down its own unproductive cost. We know not how it may be in New England, but we have a notion *here* that the walls of a *church* are built pretty much in the same way as the walls of a *school* or a *shop*, and that the expense diffuses itself pretty much amongst the same classes. First a small portion of the money goes to the architect; then come the lime-burner, stone-quarrier, brick-maker, mason, carpenter, and plumber; the shipwright who builds, and the seaman who navigates the ships or boats which collect the materials; then follow the tribes of labourers, and all the various tradesmen whose goods these workmen consume—all these people have wives and children who can only be *fed, clothed, and taught* by the earnings of their fathers in their several vocations.

But it is not the *new* churches only which excite 'the yearnings of the author's bowels'; he frets and fidgets, and makes himself just as miserable about the *old* ones. Our cathedrals, in particular, vex his pious spirit; and he weeps incessantly over 'the vast sums which were taken from the poor to rear these monuments of vanity.' With that intuitive knowledge of cause and effect which distinguishes all Mr. Paulding's economical measures, he proposes to remedy the evil and relieve the starving population by 'refunding to the children the money originally extorted from the parents for the erection of these useless piles.' For this purpose nothing more is necessary, it seems, than to pull them all down!—'by which,' as the author aptly expresses it, 'nothing will be lost on the score of religion, since these immense structures are not in the least calculated for *sermons*, which cannot be heard through their interminable aisles.'—vol. i. p. 76. Our ancient castles and country seats, too, contribute their full share to the annoyance of this exemplary friend of the poor; he regards them with a kind of instinctive horror, and exults in every symptom of their decay:—not from a mean jealousy of this country's possessing any edifices more venerable and stately than the gable-end houses of *William the Doubtful* at New York—'the sun, where Mr. Paulding was born, drew all such humours from him'—but from a conviction that their demolition would materially tend to mitigate that fierce 'hunger of the lower classes,' which forms through most of his book the chief topic of the author's tender commiseration. We certainly take shame to ourselves for not having suspected the extent to which this evil has gone, and the degrading effects it has produced.

'This abject poverty is the secret of almost all their mobs, crimes, and apparent ridiculous inconsistencies—that they one day execrate the king, and the next shout at his heels and grovel at his feet, is because

cause *they were hungry*; and CARE IS TAKEN, whenever his majesty GOES ON A TOUR, to quicken their loyalty by distributions of food and ale. A few loaves and a barrel of beer will set crowds of these poor people praising the king, whom an hour before they cursed in the *paroxysms of HUNGER*.—vol. i. p. 264.

These *paroxysms of hunger*, and the method taken to allay them by an official distribution of ale and bread whenever the king goes abroad, are circumstances which have not been sufficiently attended to by former observers; we are indebted to Mr. Paulding for bringing them so clearly before the eyes of the world. The apparently enthusiastic reception of his Majesty by the Irish is traced to this motive—the author naturally thinks ‘so high-minded and high-spirited a people as the Irish’ could not, on any other terms, have been induced to applaud their sovereign.

‘All the way from *Dunleary to Dublin* the road was lined with people placed there by the corporation of Dublin, and who, on condition of shouting and throwing up caps with a reasonable degree of loyal enthusiasm, were to be gallantly treated with *bread and beer*. If you could only conceive the wants of the lower classes in Ireland you would understand perfectly that such a temptation would almost obtain as *warm a reception* for Belzebub himself, as his Majesty was greeted with. I am assured they did shout most vociferously, and that the more bread and beer they got the more they shouted, as per contract. But this was the mere dregs of the population of Dublin, the lowest and most debased population in the kingdom, following, not the dictates of their hearts in paying a voluntary homage, but acting under the influence of their corporation, and the temptation of a *full meal*.’—vol. ii. p. 189.

As our author does not appear to have visited Ireland, but speaks from the information of others, it is not inconsistent with our high respect for all his own statements to set him right on the details of the foregoing passage. 1st. The King did not pass from *Dunleary to Dublin*; his Majesty having landed nearly twenty miles off, at the other side of the bay. 2d. There was no populace to cheer his arrival, for his entry was perfectly unexpected and private; and, except from a few gentlemen who happened to meet his carriage, and who attended it on horseback, there was no opportunity of offering that *homage* which so much disgusts the noble independence of our New Englander. 3d. There happened to be no distribution, public or secret, of bread or beer, on that or any other occasion, during his Majesty’s stay in Ireland; and, finally, the corporation of Dublin have about as much authority over the populace of Dublin as they have over the populace of New York. Although candour obliges us thus to deny every one of these facts, it must be admitted that, if they had been true, the reasoning of this passage would have been fully equal to the dignity of the expression, and the noble and gentleman-

man-like spirit in which it—as well as every other in which the King is mentioned—is conceived.

But not only was the populace bribed and the gentry deluded into these demonstrations of loyalty, but the severest penalties of the law, even death itself, were prepared for any one who should be so bold as to deny the popularity of the sovereign.

Thus, to affirm that Lord Londonderry or Sir Benjamin Bloomfield was not greeted with enthusiastic applause by the whole Irish people, is what any opposition paper may do with perfect safety. But to say the like of his Majesty is a different affair altogether. It is disrespect; it is disloyalty; it is *scan. mag.*; it is blasphemy; and, with a little hard swearing of witnesses, a little loyalty on the part of a jury, and a little zeal on the part of the judge, it will go hard, but they will make it out rank *treason*.—vol. ii. p. 200.

This surely must, if any thing can, open our eyes to the state of contempt into which every thing like law or reason is fallen in England. *Scandatum Magnatum* is, it seems, disrespect towards the King—blasphemy is the same offence—so is high treason—and a person indicted for blasphemy may, if the witnesses swear hard, be convicted of treason. This is injustice more monstrous than we have ever before heard or read of, except under the despotism of the caliph, who punished as treasonable, the omission of a pastry-cook to put pepper in his cream tarts. Mr. Matthews, indeed, has given us an account of an American judge, who, in his charge to a grand jury, places the adulteration of nutmegs above homicide in the scale of atrocity; but even Mr. Matthews does not pretend that a man accused of the forgery of nutmegs may be convicted of murder, and therefore we believe we may repeat, that the portentous practice detected by our author, is peculiar to this unhappy country.

Of the religious intolerance which now reigns in England, we select one out of many lamentable examples:—

In one of my late excursions I happened to be at a small town in the diocese of * * * *, where bigotry reigns in very *considerable* perfection, and the Church of England is propped by more than a usual quantity of privilege and prerogative.—

Here we must pause a moment to express our regret that the author should have concealed the name of the particular town in which the Church of England has greater privileges and more prerogatives than in other places. He proceeds:—

‘I found the place divided into parties on the score of a little heretical dissenter about nine years old, who had unwittingly been admitted into an episcopal school, and expelled again, because his father would neither subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, nor allow his son to be educated in any other faith than his own. Parties ran high, some blamed

—strong has elder adt bus, non-episcopal adt to young adt of the the

the church, some the parish, and some the little boy; who, as the dissenters in his neighbourhood were not sufficiently rich and numerous to establish a school of their own in that town, was in danger of growing up in ignorance of any thing but bigotry, when a rich dissenter of the neighbourhood took compassion on him, and undertook his education in pure spite.'—vol. i. p. 209.

We always knew that subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles was necessary to a candidate for clerical orders, but we were not before aware that it was required from parents preparatory to sending their children to school. We must own too, that we do not see how the child, by being expelled from the school of bigotry, was the more likely to be educated in bigotry; nor do we understand how the dissenters of the same neighbourhood were at once so rich and so poor; and least of all can we approve, as our author seems to do, the rich dissenter who undertook to educate the child out of *pure spite*.

The polished circles into which our author had the honour to be admitted, and which he is therefore so well entitled to pronounce inferior to the society of the United States, may be judged of by a *single word*—a word, indeed, which conveys to us no very clear notion, but which, we are informed, will be sufficiently intelligible to those who have had the good fortune to see that elegant specimen of English manners exhibited at the Adelphi Theatre, in the Strand, under the title of Tom and Jerry.

The young men of fashion in London, or, as the author subsequently terms them, the prime spirits of England, are, it seems, *Corinthians*.

'If a stranger wishes to see how the people of fashion spend their Sunday mornings, that is to say, from two till five in the afternoon, (just the time, we fear, when he would be disappointed,) he should go to Hyde Park. Here he will see *Corinthians*, fine ladies, and sons of aspiring cits. It is impossible to describe the vast variety of extravagance exhibited on those occasions, or the whimsical diversity of riders and equipages. This exhibition of vanity continues, till it is time to go home and dress for dinner, to a good appetite for which, half the lives of the young *Corinthians* are devoted.'—vol. i. p. 176.

Should the 'stranger' prefer an 'Egyptian catacomb' to the Park, he will still find the same description of persons:—'during a whole fortnight' (says the author) 'the exhibition of mummies was the favourite resort of fashionable blue-stockings, antiquaries, and *Corinthians*.' Indeed we scarcely know where he will not find them, for it appears that they have even crept into our popular novels, where, it seems, 'half a dozen *Corinthians*, and men of pleasure and intrigue, together with one sentimental, religious young man, and one ditto married woman, who generally

rally end with seduction and adultery, compose the principal part of the characters.'—(vol. ii. p. 100.)—Agam.

'Nearly one-third of the members of parliament are regular *Corinthians* from the rotten boroughs, sent there by their fathers, or uncles, for sale, instead of being sent to school to learn manners at least. They lounge about, for the most part, in *Corinthian* coats and corsets, without paying the least attention.'—vol. i. p. 234.

Besides the *Corinthian* members, our author condescends to notice a 'better sort of members, such as Mr. Brougham, Mr. Wilberforce, and Sir James Mackintosh.'

'They discuss (he says) some questions with a sagacity and extent of research, highly honourable to themselves and to the country, reminding me not unfrequently of Mr. *****, Mr. ****, Mr. ****, and others of the late members of our congress. But shall I venture upon the heresy? Shall I dare, in the face of old habits, prejudices, and opinions fostered by education, strengthened by books, and the example of all around you, to assert, that these men are not equal to the orators just named? And yet this is as true as that you are alive. With the exception of Mr. Canning, there is scarcely the shadow of an orator in the House of Commons; and the House of Lords is, beyond all doubt, the most sleepy place in England, except the Italian opera, and Mr. Campbell's lectures.'—vol. i. p. 235.

Mr. Paulding does not name the American members whom he thus places above Messrs. Brougham, and Wilberforce, and Sir James Mackintosh, and for once we do not blame the suppression; because, though as a triumvirate he calls our countrymen '*exceedingly worthy, useful, and able men*,' when he comes to speak of them individually, he takes a view of their characters which is less complimentary, and might give offence to the members of congress, to whom he had in general terms assimilated them:—

'Mr. Brougham is rather a heavy, laborious speaker! To me there appears something somewhat grotesque in his attempts at impassioned oratory, wherein he occasionally displays his zeal and warmth in contortions of face and figure nearly approaching to the ludicrous. He has an iron face and an iron figure,'—(the contortions of iron!)—'both equally divested of grace or majesty, nor does his action or expression make amends for these deficiencies of face and person. His eloquence is little more than special pleading. As the leader of a party in the house of commons, he is at most, however, but second-rate. I have heard him occasionally on subjects of foreign policy, wherein the talents of a statesman are put to the test, and was surprised at his crudeness, as well as want of extent of idea and accuracy of information. I certainly have heard a member from our woods talk more sensibly, and display more statesman-like views.'—vol. i. pp. 235, 236.

To this character of an *able and useful* statesman, the New Englander

Englander adds, as a proof of his *worth*, that Mr. Brougham was suspected of wishing, in 1821, to abandon his political friends and form a coalition with his antagonists. We are no partizans of Mr. Brougham; but we confess we had not seen in him that precise class of faults which the lynx-eyed American has discovered.

Of the *worthy* Mr. Wilberforce he insinuates, in pretty strong terms, that this '*amateur of charity and philanthropy*' is a very hypocrite. (vol. i. p. 205.) He talks of his *cant* (vol. i. p. 239.), and finally assures his correspondent that 'Mr. Wilberforce will 'beyond doubt vote for every measure for oppressing the people of England.'—vol. i. p. 243.

Sir James Mackintosh is rather a greater favourite:—

'Sir James Mackintosh is, I think, a much better writer than speaker, although a very powerful orator on the whole. He is fluent and animated, but too florid and studied to appear natural. I can hardly tell what he wants to make him a fine speaker, except it be nature, or that art which supplies its place in some degree. To read the papers and daily productions which record passing events, and confer a nine days immortality, one would suppose Sir James and his compeers were giants of the race of those who warred against the gods, with mountains and torrents of intellectual force and eloquence. But I must again caution you to beware of the deceptions practised upon us at home, by the monstrous and inflated style, which it is now fashionable to use in speaking of every thing rising above mediocrity.'—vol. i. p. 237.

This is by much the most complimentary passage in the whole of these volumes, and yet we know not whether it quite comes up to our ideas of an *exceedingly worthy, useful, and able* man. We are particularly struck with the perplexity in which our author is involved to know what Sir James wants to make him a fine speaker, unless it be *nature and art*; two pretty considerable wants we *guess*! Our author concludes this topic by giving it as his decided opinion—'that each of the American speakers above-mentioned, and he will add * * * *, is fully able to contest the palm with any member of the present House of Commons.'—vol. i. p. 238.

This assertion ought not to surprise us; we have heard it before, and from an equally respectable quarter. There appeared, some years ago, in the London Courier, two very well written letters from an American Quaker, Mr. Ezekiel Grub by name, who gave his correspondent an account of our House of Commons, in which exactly the same view of the relative merits of the leaders of that assembly and of congress is taken. In noticing a then celebrated English orator, Mr. Grub says:—'He is a very boisterous and lengthy speaker, and strongly remindeth me of
Bully

Bally Pycroft, of Kentucky, whom thou knowest, though the Englishman is inferior to Pycroft in taste and eloquence?

Of the *Opposition* collectively, the opinion of our New Englander is, we are sorry to say, not much more favourable.

'They are men, (he says) who have neither the power, nor, I firmly believe, the will, to breast the exigencies of the times, but who are a knot of peddling, tinkering politicians, that talk big, bluster finely, but are much more afraid of the Tower and the attorney-general, than of arbitrary power and parliamentary corruption. They are like your big fish, which are ever the greatest cowards.'—(A dissertation on the courage of fishes would be an interesting and useful chapter, in what another learned American calls, *Piscology*.)—Estimating their own importance most highly, they are the first to run away; while the lesser fry, confiding in their insignificance, remain behind, are caught, and cooked for want of higher fare. These men will never bring about a reform, such as is wanting to the prosperity of the people of this country. Those who undertake this glorious object must not mind fine, pillory, or loss of ears.'—vol. i. p. 244.

This detail of the perils which paralyse the *Opposition* party in the British House of Commons is at least novel. Of the manners and deportment of the House itself, Mr. Paulding gives the following amusing picture.

'In spite of all the sneers against our talkative congress, uttered both here and at home, I assure you, brother, I should not fear the result of a comparison with the British parliament. There is not half the decorum observed in the latter that prevails in the former. You will hardly believe it; but I do assure you, some of these independent members may be seen lying upon their backs on the seats, and kicking against the walls with all their might, to testify their approbation of one of the minister's incomprehensible speeches. Finally, when the house breaks up, they trundle out like so many school-boys dismissed to a long vacation, or so many fiddlers from the orchestra, when the curtain rises to the first act of a tragedy.'—vol. i. pp. 233, 234.

We reluctantly omit the rest of the author's statistical and political observations; and proceed to give a cursory view of his opinions of a few of our men of letters.

There is an author of the name of Milton, for whom, as a republican, he expresses great esteem; and, indeed, he intimates that at one time this author may have had some vogue in England, but unfortunately—

'The admirers of genius here have never purchased a copy of Milton's *Paradise Lost* since they found out that he was a republican, and sold his poem for twelve or twenty pounds.'—vol. i. p. 216.

This fact exhibits, in a striking point of view, the ignorance and bigotry of this nation. Milton published, in 1648, a defence of the proceedings against Charles I., called '*The Tenure of Kings*

and Magistrates';—in 1649, *Iconoclastes*, in reply to the *Icon Basilike*;—in 1651, he published his first celebrated answer to Salmasius;—in 1654, he gave his *Defensio Secunda*;—on the death of Cromwell, he published a *Letter concerning the Rupture of the Commonwealth*, to prevent the restoration of the king; and it was not till 1667—many years after the publication of all his republican works, and seven years after the Restoration—that *Paradise Lost* appeared. The exact period, therefore, at which the admirers of genius discovered that Milton was a republican, and in consequence discontinued buying *Paradise Lost*, would be a matter of curiosity, which we regret the author does not state.

There is another writer, of the name of Dryden, of whom our New Englander has, we believe, no very high opinion; but he has been lucky enough to discover a poem of this author's, of which, as being in praise of Cromwell, and a proof of the republicanism of the poet, he gladly quotes a few lines.

'I have seen,'—(says this laborious antiquary.)—'a copy of verses of Dryden in an old collection of poems, printed in 1700, to the memory of Oliver Cromwell, in which are the following stanzas:

"His grandeur he deriv'd from Heaven alone, &c. &c."

vol. ii. p. 67.

This 'copy of verses' of the great Dryden, accidentally *déterré* in an old volume printed in 1700, filled us with delight, which, however, has been a little abated by finding that it was originally printed in 1659, and that it is to be found in every edition of Dryden's works that has since appeared!

Mr. Paulding's just appreciation of the merits of Goldsmith we have already intimated, by recording his admiration of 'the excellent Elegy on a Mad Dog,' the piece, it seems, by which that elegant and pathetic writer is best known in New England.

Of living authors his opinions are equally correct and candid; but it might be considered invidious to make a selection, and we have not room for all. There is one passage however which, for the justness of its criticism and the brilliancy of its wit, we cannot refrain from quoting.

'Thomas Crabbe is a country clergyman, and has given a series of poems founded on the results, I presume, of his experience; descriptive of rural manners and rural vices as they present themselves in this country; he seems in truth a sour and crabbed genius, as his name imports; and I never look at his works without thinking when you and I used to stand on the bridge at * * * * * to see the crabs come floating up; these rogues were never in a good humour—they snap at every thing, even a brother crab; Thomas Crabbe seems a crab among poets.'—vol. ii. p. 131.

Wherever the English language is read, the accurate delineations

tions of life, the delicate strokes of character, the grave humour, the weighty sense, and, above all, the tender and pathetic touches of nature and good feeling which pervade the works of *George Crabbe*, are admired by every understanding, and felt by every heart; but of *Thomas Crabbe*, the cynic and satirist, 'the *Crab* among poets,' we have never before heard: the New Englander has therefore at once brought an unknown bard to light, and displayed his own accuracy as to facts, his own taste in poetry, and his own felicity in punning.

It is scarcely possible to pass these and similar instances of deep and extensive research, profusely scattered through Mr. Paulding's pages, without felicitating America on the possession of so complete a view, not only of the literary, but of the natural, moral, and political state of this country. We recollect a proposal for forming a sort of elementary history from the *Newgate Calendar*, and other authentic records of the same kind, by way of supplying the American youth with just and liberal notions of the English people. Whether the plan was carried into effect, we know not—nor is the inquiry, at present, worth pursuing; since the book must, at all events, ere this, have been superseded in every school by the more elaborate and faithful '*Sketch of Old England* by a New Englander.'

It will, doubtless, be a very agreeable piece of intelligence to the majority of our literary men, that they are not only all pensioned by the government, but are actually, in some cases, indemnified by ministry for the losses in their literary speculations.

There are *hundreds* (of authors), who are in the enjoyment of places, pensions, and patronage of some sort or other.—The government having the heaviest purse and the most extensive patronage is of course the best paymaster, and, consequently, retains by far the greater proportion of authors either as apologists of itself or calumniators of others.—vol. ii. p. 80.

The chief duty of these calumniators is libelling America; and this mean pursuit our government carries on with a perseverance and profligacy which really alarm us.

The English travellers in America, those I mean who really visit us, are of various kinds. I have taken pains to inquire into their characters and pursuits, and will be a little particular in my details. The first are British officers of one grade or other, either civil or military, who have travelled from New-York to Canada, or from Canada to New-York; or who have resided some time in the States, or British provinces, and seek to recommend themselves to promotion by publishing a book of travels, calculated for the palate of honest John Bull, or his rulers. Lieut. * * * *, whose travels I sent you some time ago, is quite in disgrace at head-quarters, because he had the unpatriotic can-

dour to do us justice. It is not therefore very likely that any other officer will follow his example.'—vol. ii. p. 159, 160.

So great an abuse of the royal prerogative in the matter of military promotions should be exposed, and we therefore hope the New Englander will not fail, in a future edition, to furnish us with names and dates, to enable some patriotic member to bring the subject before parliament. But this is not all:—

'The government always stands security for any loss the bookseller may sustain by the publication of this mass of dulness; and, if the worst come to the worst, the author is placed out to luxuriate in some good place or other.'—vol. ii. p. 160.

Worse remains behind—

'So timid is now grown this expiring phantom of despotism, (the British government,) that it is beginning to be afraid even of American literature, and every effort is made to exclude all republican books, but such as are in a greater or less degree anti-republican. The bookseller here, who republished Mr. Breckenridge's account of the mission to South America, becoming lately insolvent, was actually refused a certificate of discharge, on the score of his "imprudence," in thus investing a part of his capital in an American book!'—vol. ii. p. 178.

We who happen never to have heard of this portentous work of Mr. Breckenridge, might hesitate to give implicit credit to this statement; but our author, in addition to his own established veracity, can adduce evidence to the same effect from 'a most respectable London bookseller.'

'He turned my attention, with a good-natured kind of smile, to some half-bound books lying on the counter, which I found to be a new batch of travels in the United States. "They are," said he, "as you may suppose, full of the old leaven, for no bookseller here DARE publish, at his own risk, a favourable picture of your country, without a preface apologizing for the offence, and expressing his doubts of its truth."—vol. ii. p. 165.

Even this is not the worst—

'For, in the lowest deep, a lower deep
Still opens to devour!—'

Not satisfied with their host of libellers, government, it seems, have taken a body of nominal emigrants into pay, for the purpose of calumniating America with more effect. It is well known, the author says;—but we beg to observe here, that the natural perspicacity of Mr. Paulding renders him, in general, too indulgent to the understanding of others; and that we, in particular, did not know (well or ill) of this plan, the profound policy of which fails to reconcile us to its flagrant duplicity!—But let him tell his own story.

'The practice' (he is speaking of emigration, and deploring its decrease) 'has been chiefly discouraged—by the return of several emigrants,

grants, who, it is well known, were shipped to America and brought back again at the expense of the English government, for the sake of proving that there was no longer a possibility of gaining employment there.—vol. ii. p. 174.

We always feel the greatest reluctance to speak of *ourselves*; but there are occasions on which we cannot otherwise do justice to the works under our consideration; and this is one of them. Our readers, we anticipate, will be fully of this opinion when (with, we hope, a not unpardonable vanity) we acquaint them that the whole circle of English literature, and all the authors of all sizes, sexes and ages, from Chaucer down to Lady Morgan, do not attract so much of Mr. Paulding's notice and occupy so many of his pages as the Quarterly Review alone. We will not so far offend against modesty as to quote any of the numerous eulogies which he pronounces upon us. We pass over the compliments of being the 'bully of orthodoxy,' (vol. ii. p. 118.) 'the great watch dog at the door of the palace,' (*ibid.*) and a thousand other similar descriptions; the honest author is far from being a flatterer, and some of his expressions might lead a superficial observer to doubt the sincerity of his respect and regard for us; but against any such doubts we have only to repeat that in these little volumes, which embrace a description of London, a tour through England and Wales, together with general observations on the whole frame of English society, politics, arts, arms, history, literature, and every thing else, the too partial writer has found or made opportunities of dedicating an immense proportion of his attention to us, not only collectively, but, so far does his condescension extend, in our individual capacities. There is one passage, however, in which he shows a knowledge of men and manners, and a gentleman-like feeling, so truly American, that we cannot refrain from quoting it, and expressing our humble gratitude. The author states that the public taste is wonderfully influenced by this Review, and that mere notice from us never fails to confer popularity on any publication; and he then proceeds to intimate that he has discovered the principles upon which our recommendations are founded.

There are some of the booksellers here, who ensure a very considerable sale for a work, by simply publishing it with their names. Among these the most distinguished is Mr. John Murray, a worthy and respectable man, whose character, I believe, is without reproach. He has general orders from a great number, not only of the booksellers, but of the nobility and gentry, for one or more copies of every new work that issues from his press. Thus the first edition of a new book is, I am told, generally bespoke, and a second becomes necessary. Mr. Murray is, besides, as you know, publisher of the Quarterly Review; and though I do not mean to say there is any collusion, yet it were a disgrace to the human heart to suppose, that the intimate association, the commu-

nity of feelings and interests, thus produced between him and the editors of that work, did not bring about a mutual good will. 'Fractions and intolerant as are these literary bullies, they assuredly cannot resist Mr. Murray's excellent dinners, and far-famed port.'—vol. ii. p. 86.

We are very far from being such a 'disgrace to the human heart' as not to be sensible of intimate associations, and community of feelings and interests, and all the other exalted and honourable sentiments which our author cannot separate from the idea of 'excellent dinners' and 'far-famed port.' We must, however, venture to own that the fame of Mr. Murray's port has not yet reached us; and we rather guess that the frugal habits of the New Englander may a little overrate the value of that beverage now-a-days:—it may have been, for aught we know, the 'half-guinea wine of pestiferous quality,' which soured his temper on his arrival; but he may be assured the time is gone by when bribery took the colour and substance of 'port.' As we have been forced by the good-humoured and good-mannered partiality of Mr. Paulding to become egotists, let us be permitted to make one final appeal on our own behalf. We call upon him, then, to declare whether we ever *dined* or drank *port* with him at the New York Coffee-house, in Sweeting's-alley, or in his lodgings kept by the heiress of the Plantagenets?—he must, as we know, reply in the negative, and yet we hope he will admit that we have paid him, without any such bribe, a reasonable degree of impartial attention; and, as Mr. Paulding so obligingly states, that notice from us is a kind of passport to fame, we trust he will be satisfied with the notoriety we have conferred upon him. His own modesty may hesitate about the justice of our praises, but no other person, who reads his book, will think that we have said of him half so much as he deserves.

ART. XII.—*Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, and her Second Husband, the Hon. George Berkeley, from 1712 to 1767. With Historical, Biographical, and Explanatory Notes.* 2 vols. 8vo. 1824.

THE French have been long allowed to
'Shine unrivall'd in the gay Memoir.'

But we question whether they are more rich than we are in that other sort of auto-biography which an individual gradually and insensibly composes in the course of his epistolary correspondence, and which possesses an advantage over professed Memoirs, as exhibiting the sentiments and feelings of the writer, contrasted with, and of course corrected by, those of his correspondents. The Augustan age of Queen Anne and the reigns which succeeded,

succeeded, gave occasion to several collections of this nature. Pope, who felt his own powers in this particular department, and was unwilling that the public should remain in ignorance of them, contrived, it is said, by a manœuvre not perhaps entirely worthy of a man of genius, to give to the public what was professedly designed for the cabinet. His example, and perhaps his assistance, produced the letters of Swift, Gay, and Bolingbroke, and since his time we have had the admirable correspondence of his fair friend and foe Lady Mary Wortley Montague; the playful, ingenious and amiable letters of Gray and Cowper; and the mingled history and gossip of the satirical, keen, and polished Horace Walpole.

It is no wonder that the public should receive with unabated favour the various epistolary collections which have from time to time been laid before them, for they are peculiarly qualified to gratify that undefined yet eager curiosity, which, without having any determined object, pursues the great to the inmost recesses of their privacy, and eagerly seeks after the personal details of the lives of those whose names are eminent either in history or in literature. The possession of their letters gives us the same command over them which Gulliver exercised over the ghosts of the departed great by the favour of the Governor of Glubbddubdrib; they—the long insensible and silent—seem thus to revive to human feeling, to mingle again in the world, and to add their passions, wishes and complaints to those which swell the living tide of humanity.

Sharing this general feeling, we opened with no little interest the present work, containing the correspondence of those distinguished persons, who, deeply engaged in the politics or literature of the earlier part of the eighteenth century, were led from peculiar circumstances to make the celebrated Countess of Suffolk,—still more celebrated perhaps as Mrs. Howard,—the common centre of their interest.

‘Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, Gay, and Young;—the Duchesses of Buckingham, Marlborough, and Queensberry;—Ladies Orkney, Mohun, Hervey, Vere, and Temple;—Misses Bellenden, Blount, Howe, and Pitt;—Lords Peterborough, Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, Lansdowne, Mansfield, and Bathurst;—Messrs. Fortescue, Pulteney, Pelham, Pitt, Grenville, and Horace Walpole.’—*Introd.* p. xxix.

Such is the illustrious list of Lady Suffolk's correspondents; but the editor has shewn an honest desire rather to moderate than enhance the expectations which such names might excite. He observes, (with a candour not usual with editors, whose labours, in general, impress them with perhaps an undue partiality in favour of their subjects,) that—‘the letters themselves can hardly be said to fulfil the expectations which the reputation

of the writers must create; which he proceeds to account for, by saying that Lady Suffolk was of a character too prudent to preserve much that related to political intrigue; and he intimates that perhaps the real abilities of some of the writers were not quite equal to their reputations. But after these deductions, he expresses an opinion, in which we cordially concur, that there remains a great deal which is both interesting and curious; and we will add, that the correspondence is rendered still more acceptable to the general reader by the judgment, precision, and critical taste with which the editor has supplied the necessary illustrations, filled up chasms in the correspondence, and pointed out the light which the present publication throws upon facts and characters which had been previously misconceived or misrepresented.

The situation of Mrs. Howard is well known, in respect to its general relations at least. Henrietta Hobart was the eldest daughter of Sir Henry Hobart, Bart. and through her influence her paternal house was ennobled in the person of her brother the first Earl of Buckinghamshire. She made an early and, as it proved, an unhappy marriage with the Honourable Charles Howard, who afterwards became ninth earl of Suffolk. In the last years of Queen Anne, they visited together the court of Hannover, and there Mrs. Howard seems to have laid the foundation of that intimacy with the Electoral Prince and his consort, afterwards George II. and Queen Caroline, which subsequently distinguished her. Upon the accession of the house of Hannover, she became bed-chamber woman to the princess, and enjoyed so great a share in the confidence of the royal couple, that the world presumed an attachment towards her on the part of the Prince prudently connived at by his politic consort—a presumption which was increased to something like certainty by Mrs. Howard refusing to quit her situation in the household even in obedience to the commands of her husband. These evil reports (which, true or false, arose so naturally out of the circumstances of the case, that we never have before happened to hear them doubted) are, in some particulars, questioned by the editor of the correspondence before us. He does not indeed express any disbelief on his own part of the truth of the general impression on this subject; but he finds, and finding, we think he was bound to state, that several of the facts on which that impression has hitherto rested are unfounded, and he clearly proves that some *details* which Horace Walpole gives in support of a very scandalous version of the case are erroneous. The editor alleges that, although Mr. Howard undoubtedly took some violent steps to remove his lady from the prince's household, his motive was not mere jealousy, but a desire to gratify George I., who was willing in this as in other matters to annoy and mortify his daughter-

daughter-in-law; and, strange as it may appear, it certainly does seem that the supposed mistress was almost as great a favourite with the wife as with the husband. The editor avers besides, and we have no hesitation to believe him, that in no line of the mass of papers which he has carefully examined, does there occur the least proof of the imputation so generally believed by the world and so pleasantly commented on by Walpole. We regret that his researches have not enabled him to state whether it is true that the restive husband had a pension of £1200, for which Walpole tells us that he sold his own noisy honour and the possession of his lady. Walpole was too wicked a wit to adopt the most favourable view of a court-intrigue; but he admits, that the lady's friends always affected to consider the attentions of the royal friend as quite Platonic, and that she maintained great decency and received uncommon respect to the end of her life.

For our own parts, without believing all Walpole's details, and in fact disbelieving many of them, we substantially agree in his opinion (which indeed seems to be that of the editor) that the king's friendship was by no means Platonic or refined; but that the queen and Mrs. Howard, by mutual forbearance, good sense and decency, contrived to diminish the scandal: after all, the question has no great interest for the present generation, since scandal is only valued when fresh, and the public have generally enough of that poignant fare without ripping up the frailties of their grandmothers.

Whether founded on love or friendship, Mrs. Howard's favour in the family of the Prince stood so high, that all who were discontented with George the First's government and Walpole's administration, and hoped to see a change of affairs under his successor, sought her patronage as the most secure road to that of her royal protectors.

Among these, an illustrious band of British authors, whose names are indissolubly united with the literary fame of their country, appear for a time to have paid successful court to Mrs. Howard, and through her to the Princess Caroline, who was unquestionably a woman of talent, and, though more attached to the study of metaphysics than of letters, was capable of admiring, if she did not accurately appreciate, the powers of such men as Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, and Gay. From a tract written by the witty physician himself, intitled *Gulliver Deciphered*, we learn (by a story not very delicately told) that it was his professional abilities which established him at the Prince's little court, where he easily paved the way for the reception of the rest of the Scriblerus club. They approached royalty and future sovereignty not quite so circuitously as their own creature P. P. but certainly their proceed-

ings

ings were not without some slight share of that vanity which they laughed at in Bishop Burnet. Pope had not as yet embraced any very marked line in politics, although his bias to toryism, arising both from his religion and his friendships, had already rendered him suspicious to the court and ministry. But it is probable that he was drawn to the princess's court by the natural desire of being distinguished in such a circle, and by the hope of rendering himself useful to Gay, a person in whom all his friends took an interest, which perhaps had its original source in the good-natured simplicity and helplessness of the indiscreet and indolent bard.

Gay's first motives were probably those of personal interest; but his intimacy with Mrs. Howard seems to have ripened into a real and mutual kindness. On the one hand she appears to have exerted herself in his behalf, and on the other she did not scruple to employ him on many little occasions, when she would have feared to employ, or perhaps dared not even to ask the assistance of Pope, or the yet more formidable Swift.

The last of these three friends, while we may suppose him pleased at regaining a share of that importance which he had held during Oxford's administration, had of late turned his active mind to the politics of Ireland in particular; and as the 'true patriot—the first, almost the last'—of that ill fated country, he desired to make her grievances known, and, if possible, to obtain redress. As for Arbuthnot, we may presume that his Jacobite principles induced him to hope that the breach betwixt George I. and his son might be attended with consequences favourable to the depressed party to which he continued to adhere. Such seem to have been the separate motives which produced the attendance of these distinguished persons at the court of the Prince of Wales, where they received the countenance to which their talents entitled them, and endeavoured, each in his own manner, to secure the continuance of their common favour. Mrs. Howard listened to the poetical flattery of the Bard of Twickenham, and to the yet more poignant compliments which the Dean of St. Patrick's could pay under cover of that fine irony which, as he justly boasted,

He was born to introduce,

Refined it first and shew'd its use.

But of Gay's talents she made a more every-day use, for she not only employed him in divers little domestic affairs, but it appears that she engaged his pen in conducting the literary correspondence which she entertained with some wit of the day, and which she was too diffident or perhaps too indolent to support upon her own mental resources. The editor believes that the other party was the celebrated Earl of Peterborough. Mrs.

Howard

Howard makes the following apology for devolving her own share of this intercourse upon her substitute Gay.

‘Perhaps you think I treat you very oddly, that, while I own myself afraid of a *man of wit*, and make that a pretence to ask your assistance, I can write to you myself without any concern; but do me justice, and believe it is, that I think it requires something more than wit to deserve esteem! So it is less uneasy for me to write to you than to the other; for I should fancy I purchased the letters I received (though very witty) at too great an expense, if at the least hazard of having my real answers exposed.’—vol. i. p. 122.

The reader will naturally be desirous to know the character of the correspondence thus maintained by the poet on behalf and in the name of Mrs. Howard with the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, —versed in courts and camps, ardent, impetuous and ambitious, who moved in war with the speed of a thunderbolt, and in peace with the celerity of a carrier pigeon,—and not small will be his surprise when he discovers its object and its tenor. Unquestionably, the ultimate design of the Earl was, by this correspondence, to maintain a political interest with the favourite of the Prince and Princess, but the means are sufficiently singular. Addressing her in the character of a Platonic lover, he plies her with all the overstrained jargon of metaphysical conceit and affected wit, leaving us at a loss to conceive how a man of common understanding could have written or even read such solemn nonsense. Perhaps *fashion*, which recommended *Euphuism* to the courtiers of Queen Elizabeth’s time, might render the following explosion of *la belle passion* interesting to those of George I.

‘Change of air, the common remedy, has no effect; and flight, the refuge of all who fear, gives me no manner of security or ease: a fair devil haunts me wherever I go, though, perhaps, not so malicious as the black ones, yet more tormenting.

‘How much more tormenting is the beauteous devil than the ugly one! The first I am always thinking of; the other comes seldom in my thoughts: the terrors of the ugly devil very often diminish upon consideration; but the oppressions of the fair one become more intolerable every time she comes into my mind.

‘The chief attribute of the devil is tormenting. Who could look upon you, and give you that title? who can feel what I do, and give you any other?

‘But, most certainly, I have more to lay to the charge of the fair one than can be objected to Satan or Belzebub. We may believe they only have a mind to torment because they are tormented; if they endeavour to procure us misery, it is because they are in pain: they must be our companions in suffering, but my white devil partakes none of my torments.

‘In a word, give me heaven, for it is in your power; or may you have an equal hell! Judge of the disease by the extravagant symptoms:

one

one moment I curse you, the next I pray for you. Oh! hear my prayers, or I am miserable.'—vol. i. p. 152.

Some passages of the answers, which are written by Mrs. Howard herself, are easy, and ridicule the highflown style of her admirer; but all that Gay seems to have supplied are also 'in King Cambyzes's vein,' and when we consider that in 'this keen encounter of wits' Johnny Gay was the Earl of Peterborough's real correspondent, it is impossible not to think of the similar case of Slender, who, though he cried 'Mum,' and his partner 'Budget,' had the mortification after all, to find that, instead of Mrs. Anne Page, he had carried off 'a great lubberly boy.'

Mrs. Howard's patronage of Gay proved, as is well known, if not totally ineffectual, still so far short of what he himself and his friends had expected, that the post offered him, in the formation of the royal household, was regarded as only fit to be rejected with contempt. Lady Betty Germaine, in a very spirited and sensible letter addressed to Dean Swift, (vol. ii. p. 54.) repels the doubts which he, with some of Gay's other friends, had entertained (or, as the editor supposes, *affected* to entertain) of Mrs. Howard's sincerity upon this occasion. 'Thus far I know,' says her ladyship, 'and so far I will answer for, that she was under very great concern that nothing better could be got for him, and the friendship upon all other occasions which she shewed him did not look like a double dealer.' The editor takes a somewhat higher line of defence for her and her royal mistress, and seems (vol. i. p. 31.) to think the situation of gentleman-usher to a royal babe no bad preferment for a bard whose chief reputation at that time was founded on fables written for another royal infant. *Otium* there might be in the place, for it must have been a sinecure; but the *dignitas* was wanting, and as the character of such situations is fixed by public opinion, we must suppose that the proposed preferment ranked very low, since Gay, who was during all his short life looking for court-patronage, refused it without hesitation. The editor, however, thinks (and indeed shows, vol. i. p. 118.) that Gay had indiscreetly attacked Sir Robert Walpole, and he expresses an approbation almost amounting to surprise, that Walpole should have been so generous as to leave the author of the Beggar's Opera in possession of a small situation as a commissioner of the lottery; but we hope that he remembers and approves the noble answer of Harley, when some interest was used with him to protect Congreve from the consequences of the fall of Godolphin's administration.

Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Pœni,
Nec tam aversus equos Tyria Sol jungit ab urbe.

We suspect the truth to be, that the fate of the poor post was mixed

mixed up with matters of far greater importance, and his disappointment is to be regarded chiefly as a sign of the ascending splendour of Sir Robert Walpole in the horizon of the new court. All expected the fall of this mighty favourite; and all who had speculated upon that event were confounded to see him re-established in his power, with even additional authority, by the very prince to whom, as his father's favourite minister, he had been supposed most obnoxious. It was incumbent on him in policy to show his complete predominance, and to evince to the world that his will was the chief consideration in the distribution of favours at the new court. Sir Robert Walpole, with many great qualities, was neither a judge nor a friend of literature, and he had been already the subject of satire to Swift and other wits of the time. An attempt to reconcile *Plinnip* and *Gulliver* to each other had been defeated by the prejudices of both, and it was at last a measure of precaution on the part of the minister to shut the court against a politician of Swift's bold, dexterous, and enterprising character, who had avowedly great changes to propose in Irish politics, and whose popularity rendered him formidable to those by whom the affairs of that country were administered. He was no idle and inconsiderable walker of ante-chambers, no tame *lion*, to use a modern phrase, to be wondered at by the ladies, and bantered by the wits of the court. Swift had already successfully encountered and defeated, by the Drapier's letters, a favourite scheme of the arbitrary administration of Ireland, and his only interview with Walpole was employed in the very unpalatable subject of that nation's grievances;* and it was prudent, at least, in the minister, to elude the chance of that collision which the dean's transference to an English preferment, perhaps an English mitre, might have occasioned. This jealousy of Swift may probably have increased his dislike of Gay, of whom Pope had already said, as an objection to his preferment, that 'because he had humour he was supposed to have dealt with Swift; in like manner as when any one had learning formerly he was thought to have dealt with the devil.' After all, however, it must not be forgotten, that Gay had written the Beggar's Opera, and that the quarrel between Peachum and Lockit was universally believed to be an allusion to a personal collision which had taken place between Walpole and his brother-in-law and colleague Lord Townsend.

Swift seems to have been quite sensible that he was under the ban of the minister, for he declined to stay in England, though urged by Mrs. Howard, who again and again assured him of the queen's continued regard. Taking his leave in a dutiful letter, as his ill health (brought on by the illness of Stella) pre-

* See a letter from Dean Swift to Lord Peterborough, dated 28th April, 1728.

vented his personal appearance at court; he retired to Ireland for the rest of his life. It was some time after this, and not until his nerves were rendered irritable by Gay's death, and his domestic calamities, that his complaints of Mrs. Howard's insincerity were made. Perhaps some unknown circumstances happened to exasperate his feelings against her; perhaps however, and this we think the most probable conjecture, he was only disappointed, and therefore displeased with or without reason, with all who had been concerned with his hopes and their failure. Assuredly Queen Caroline became afterwards often the butt of the dean's satire, as well as Sir Robert Walpole. The present work preserves one of those lampoons against the latter, which the author of *Gulliver* alone could have written, and which, written and corrected in Swift's own hand, was found among Lady Suffolk's papers. The editor observes, that in this bitter and exaggerated catalogue of the minister's feelings there are still some traits of his real manner and character.

'With favour and fortune fastidiously blest,
He's loud in his laugh, and he's coarse in his jest;
Of favour and fortune unmerited, vain,
A sharper in trifles, a dupe in the main;
Achieving of nothing, still promising wonders,
By dint of experience, improving in blunders;
Oppressing true merit, exalting the base,
And selling his country to purchase his place;
A jobber of stocks by retailing false news;
A prater at court in the style of the stew;
Of virtue and worth by profession a giber;
Of juries and senates the bully and briber.
Though I name not the wretch, you all know who I mean—
'Tis the cur-dog of Britain, and spaniel of Spain.'

vol. ii, p. 32.

But although Swift retained a keen sense of the disappointment of the hopes which he had entertained of being, through the influence of Mrs. Howard, settled in England, he is completely vindicated in this work from the imputation of having, as is alleged by Horace Walpole, left a written character of that lady, published after his death, differing materially and much to her disadvantage, from one which he had sent her during her life.

'The *Character*, carefully written in the Dean's own hand, and as carefully preserved by Lady Suffolk, here follows; and a comparison of it with the character printed in Swift's posthumous works will show there was but *one* character, and that Walpole's statement, and *all* the charges he builds on it, are absolutely without foundation.'—*Introduc.* p. xxxviii.

It however is right to add that Walpole's mistake in this instance

stance was clearly unintentional, and arose out of a mere misapprehension; we are glad to find a case of such black duplicity as this would have been, so indisputably and triumphantly disproved.

Another very pointed statement by Horace Walpole is also satisfactorily refuted. He has stated in his '*Reminiscences*,' that, in order to discover whether Mrs. Howard's influence could really be effectual, she was put upon asking a coronet for Lord Bathurst, which having failed through the interference of the queen, Swift retired to Ireland in despair, 'to curse Queen Caroline.' The editor confutes this anecdote as follows:—

On this it is to be observed in the first place, that George the Second was proclaimed on the 14th of June, 1727—that Swift returned to Ireland in the September of the same year—and that the first creation of peers in that reign did not take place till the 28th of May, 1728. Is it credible that Mrs. Howard should have made such a request of the new king, and suffered so decided a refusal ten or eleven months before any peers were made? But, again: in this first creation of peers, Mrs. Howard's brother is the second name. Is it probable, that with so great an object for her own family in view, she risked a solicitation for Lord Bathurst? But there is yet stronger evidence;—we shall see (vol. i. p. 275) that Lord Bathurst writes, on the 24th of October, 1727, (a month after Swift had gone to Ireland,) to beg Mrs. Howard to explain to the king his proceedings relative to the Gloucester election. The whole tone of that letter, and the very selection of Mrs. Howard as his mediator, are almost decisive against the fact of her having been so lately and so signally defeated in another request in his behalf. But that which seems most convincing is Swift's own correspondence. He left London, suddenly indeed, alleging his ill health as the cause of his return home; but it is now known that his disorder, his departure, and his despair, were all occasioned—not by Lord Bathurst or Queen Caroline—but by the commencement of the fatal illness of poor Stella. And what may conclude the argument on this point, is Swift's letter to Mrs. Howard, of the 9th of July, 1727; in which, rallying her on the solicitations to which the followers of the new king would be exposed, he says, "for my own part, you may be secure that I will never venture to recommend even a mouse to Mrs. Cole's cat, or a shoe-cleaner to your meanest domestic!"—*Introduc.* pp. xxv. —xxvii.

One or two other inaccuracies are noticed as occurring in the '*Reminiscences*' of the noble owner of Strawberry Hill. When it is considered, however, that he was speaking of very remote events, which he reported on hearsay, and that hearsay of old standing, such errors are scarcely to be wondered at, particularly when they are found to correspond with the partialities and prejudices of the narrator. These, strengthening as we grow older, gradually pervert, or at least alter, the accuracy of our recollections, until they assimilate them to our feelings, while,

'As beams of warm imagination play,
The memory's faint traces melt away.'

There

There is much interest in the light correspondence of the merry maidens of the Princess Caroline's court, the wit of Mary Lepel, the vivacity of the beautiful Mary Bellenden, the gaiety of Miss Howe, Lady Vere, and Mrs. Bradshaw, which, however, is often pushed by these free dames and damsels far beyond 'the limits of becoming mirth.' We used to feel indignant at the follies of the maids of honour at the court of Brobdignag, to which Gulliver has given circulation, and at the report of other wags of the period, who alleged that the attendants of Princess Caroline were great adepts in the noble art of 'selling bargains.' But we must now apologize to the traveller and the wit, for having suspected them of outstepping the limits of truth and probability, and admit that our grandmothers, however portentous the length of their stays, did not, after all, lace them so tightly as we have always hitherto supposed. There is great amusement in comparing the style of the same individual at different periods of life or acting under different circumstances. The correspondence of Lady Hervey, published some years since, is grave, moral, and literary, and shows little of the wit and gaiety for which she was famous. But then her correspondent was the Reverend Mr. Morris, her sons' tutor; whereas many of her letters in the present collection are written in the original character of the light and laughter-loving Molly Lepel, and are full of an amiable vivacity; yet it is but justice to remark that even her gaiety never leaps the pale like that of Miss Howe, Miss Bellenden or Mrs. Bradshaw.

We subjoin an extract from the correspondence of Miss Howe; in illustration of our remarks.

Miss Howe to Mrs. Howard.

[The Holt, 1719.]

'You will think, I suppose, that I have had no flirtation since I am here; but you will be mistaken; for the moment I entered Farnham, a man, in his own hair, cropped, and a brown coat, stopped the coach to bid me welcome, in a very gallant way: and we had a visit, yesterday, from a country clown of this place, who did all he could to persuade me to be tired of the noise and fatigue of a court-life, and intimated, that a quiet country one would be very agreeable after it, and he would answer that in seven years I should have a little court of my own.

'I think this is very well advanced for the short time I have been here; and, truly, since what this gentleman has said, I am half resolved not to return to you, but follow his advice in taking up with a harmless, innocent, and honest livelihood, in a warm cottage; but for fear I should be tempted too far, put my Lord Lumley in mind to send the coach for me on Tuesday se'nnight; for though it will be a sort of mortification for me to leave this place, I will not be so ill-natured as to let you all die for want of me.

'I am

'I am just come from Farnham church, where I burst out in laughing the moment I went in, and it was taken to be because I was just pulling out one of my Scotch cloth handkerchiefs, which made me think of Jenny Smith. The pastor made a very fine sermon upon what the wickedness of this world was come to; * * *—vol. i. pp. 36—38.

Another year, and what was this gay, fluttering, thoughtless creature!—the victim of seduction, abandoned by the world for which alone she lived, and dying, in solitude and shame, of a broken heart. One friend, indeed, she found; and there is reason to hope that when she 'entered His courts,' she did it with other feelings and other thoughts than those suggested by cloth handkerchiefs or the recollection of Jenny Smith.

There is a good deal of this romping and hoydening with the pen in Mrs. Bradshaw's letters, but, thanks to the editor, it usually stops on this side of offence, and upon the whole we consider this lady as a very pleasant correspondent.

'Mrs. Bradshaw to Mrs. Howard.

'[Gosworth Hall,] May 28th, [1722.]

'Our bells have rung ever since four this morning, which is more a proof of Lady Mohun's power than the people's inclinations.

'I am told you expect from me an account of the manners and customs of this place: it is impossible for me to obey your commands at present, for the weather has been so wet that none of the neighbouring nymphs or swains have been able to make their appearance: but if you can be contented with a description of the hall, and the manner of life we lead this Christmas time, (for so it is here, I do assure you,) take it as follows.

'We meet in the work-room before nine; eat, and break a joke or two, till twelve; then we repair to our own chambers and make ourselves ready, for it cannot be called dressing: at noon the great bell fetches us into a parlour, adorned with all sorts of fire-arms, poisoned darts, several pair of old shoes and boots won from the Tartars by men of might belonging to this castle, with the stirrups of King Charles I. taken from him at Edge-Hill.

'Here leave we the historical part of the furniture, and cast your eye (in imagination) upon a table covered with good fish and flesh, the product of our own estate; and such ale!—it would make you stare again, Howard. After your health has gone round, (which is always the second glass,) we begin to grow witty, and really say things that would make your ears tingle: your court wits are nothing to us for invention (plots only excepted); but, being all of a side, we lay no scheme but of getting you amongst us, where, though I say it that should not, (because I would have my share in it,) you would pass your time very agreeably in our dike, for you must know we have hardly seen dry land since we came.

'Mr. Mordaunt has once or twice made an effort to sally out into the gardens, but finding no rest for the sole of his foot, returns presently

to us again; and, I must give him his due, always in good humour. Miss had a small ray of hope last night, for Colonel Lawrence, and a gentleman with him, swam to us; the last was clothed in blue, turned up with red, and adorned with plate buttons, upon which she puts me on her lutestring suit, not omitting all the little flirtation she is mistress of: if she brings it to any thing you shall be sure to have notice time enough to provide another maid.

'Nay, I will assure you, old as I am, I have my little gallantries too. A gentleman, of three hundred per annum, fancies me extremely, and if he had not been under an engagement before I came, I have some reason to believe I might have kept a chaise of my own; however I live in hope that a loose man may come, though it will be some time first, for all the best families in the parish are laid up with what they call the yoke—which in England is the itch. We have had a noble captain, who dined in a brave pair of white gloves, to my very great surprise; but it was when I was in my London ignorance.

'I am now called upon to see a pond drawn, which will produce carp as big as some of your lords of the bedchamber. Madam Howard, I live in expectation of an epistle from you, which is the only wish I have out of my company, who are all your humble servants; but nobody is more entirely so than your slave

* *PECCOR.*—vol. i, pp. 91—94.

There is an admirable letter from Lady Betty Germaine to Swift, in defence of Mrs. Howard from the charges which he was too much in the habit of bringing against her, but it is too long for our purpose, and we must therefore content ourselves with a sprightly *échantillon* of her correspondence which occurs vol. i. p. 72. In general, the strains of this lady 'are of a higher mood' than those of her female friends. Her whole life, the editor says, seems to have been an exercise of good humour, generosity and affection; of all which qualities, he justly adds, the following letter to her brother appears very characteristic.

'Why, thou fool, puppy, blockhead, George Berkeley, dost thou think that I will be troubled with securities? or can it enter into your no-head that if you were put to distress for four thousand pounds, that I should not think myself happy to be able to serve you?—But please yourself, sir—I have desired the Speaker to let you have what you want. He tells me he fears another such call from the Bank; but even though you should take the four, still I shall have enough without:—they are much higher discount than 13, which most of my last were sold at. I hope to have the honour to see you in town next Sunday—so adieu. Worse and worse here every day—no soul left here that we know but Lady Kit and Mrs. Coke, who sit and sigh for S. Sea.'—vol. i. 72, 73.

It would be hardly fair to close our extracts without offering the reader a specimen of the epistolary talents of Mrs. Howard—the pivot on which all this correspondence turns:—the shortest

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we can find is a letter to poor Gay, who in pure simplicity seems to have entertained a design of falling in love, and making his fortune by matrimony. He does not quite speak out; his simpering however is fully understood by his more practised correspondent—But we had better give his letter.

‘*Mr. Gay to Mrs. Howard.*

‘*Madam,*

Tunbridge, July 12, 1723.

The next pleasure to seeing you is hearing from you; and when I hear you succeed in your wishes, I succeed in mine—so I will not say a word more of the house.

‘We have a young lady here that is very particular in her desires. I have known some ladies, who, if ever they prayed, and were sure their prayers would prevail, would ask an equipage, a title, a husband, or matadores; but this lady, who is but seventeen, and has but thirty thousand pounds, places all her wishes in a pot of good ale. When her friends, for the sake of her shape and complexion, would dissuade her from it, she answers, with the truest sincerity, that by the loss of shape and complexion she can only lose a husband, but that ale is her passion. I have not as yet drank with her, though I must own I cannot help being fond of a lady who has so little disguise of her practice, either in her words or appearance. If to show you love her, you must drink with her, she has chosen an ill place for followers, for she is forbid with the waters. Her shape is not very unlike a barrel; and I would describe her eyes, if I could look over the agreeable swellings of her cheeks, in which the rose predominates; nor can I perceive the least of the lily in her whole countenance. You see what thirty thousand pounds can do, for without that I could never have discovered all these agreeable particularities: in short, she is the *ortolan*, or rather *wheat-ear*, of the place, for she is entirely a lump of fat; and the form of the universe itself is scarce more beautiful, for her figure is almost circular. After I have said all this, I believe it will be in vain for me to declare I am not in love; and I am afraid that I have showed some imprudence in talking upon this subject, since you have declared that you like a friend that has a heart in his disposal. I assure you I am not mercenary, and that thirty thousand pounds have not half so much power with me as the woman I love.—vol. i. 108.

‘*Mrs. Howard to Mr. Gay.*

Richmond Lodge, July 22, [1723.]

‘I have taken some days to consider of your *wheat-ear*, but I find I can no more approve of your having a passion for that, than I did of your turning parson. But if ever you will take the one, I insist upon your taking the other: they ought not to be parted; they were made from the beginning for each other. But I do not forbid you to get the best intelligence of the ways, manners and customs, of this wonderful *phenomene*: how it supports the disappointment of bad ale, and what are the consequences to the full enjoyment of her luxury? I have some thoughts of taking a hint from the ladies of your acquaintance, who

pray for matadores, and turn devotees for luck at ombre; for I have already lost above a hundred pounds since I came to Richmond.

I do not like to have you too passionately fond of every thing that has no disguise. I (that am grown old in courts) can assure you, sincerity is so very unthriving, that I can never give consent that you should practise it, excepting to three or four people that I think may deserve it, of which number I am. I am resolved that you shall open a new scene of behaviour next winter, and begin to pay in coin your debts of fair promises. I have some thoughts of giving you a few loose hints for a satire; and if you manage it right, and not indulge that foolish good-nature of yours, I do not question but I shall see you in good employment before Christmas.—vol. i. p. 110.

In noticing the familiar appellation of *Schatz*, by which Lady Hervey, and, it seems, Lord Hervey were known in the princess's court, the editor seems not to have been aware that *schatz* (treasure) is a German term of endearment; it is, however, possible, as we do not see how the word, in its original meaning, could be applied both to my Lord and my Lady, that it may have been employed, as the editor thinks, from the similarity of the sound, and by a *plaisanterie de société*, to mark the elsewhere-recorded volubility of the discourses of Lord and Lady Hervey.

There occurs in these volumes a long correspondence between Lady Suffolk and Lord Chesterfield. This distinguished nobleman seems to have had something foreign in his original concoction, nor does he ever appear to have been aware that in Britain the estimate of public men is formed less in a court than in the opinion of the people at large, who are always more interested by the broad and striking lights and shades of character, than by all those fine *nuances*, the study of which he recommends so earnestly. His letters, however, are extremely amusing, and those written near the conclusion of his life are distinguished by the same ease and pleasantry which marked his juvenile productions. Walpole has informed us, that by his assiduous court to Lady Suffolk, Chesterfield gave umbrage to Queen Caroline, and in reality impeded instead of advancing his own political views. This statement the editor combats, and seems to us, by the assistance of several admitted facts and dates, materialy to weaken, if not to overthrow it. His Lordship's constant friendship with Lady Suffolk for thirty years after she retired from court, proves at least that it was more disinterested than Walpole's suspicions allow.

The letters of the eccentric but clever and entertaining Duchess of Queensberry are also an agreeable addition to the stock of English letters. She never, as all the world knows, changed the fashion of her dress, insomuch that we re-
collect

collect having seen her picture in what she was pleased to call the character of a milkmaid. A milking pail she bore sure enough; but her dress in other respects was the same in which she went to court. Her generous though somewhat excessive patronage of Gay, and especially the sincerity with which she cherished his memory, do honour to her taste and feelings. In some of her places of residence, there are traditions however of the poet's escaping from her grace's vigilance to enjoy himself in some favourite ale-house, free at once from state and patronage. But in all such cases, the duchess, who acted as his physician as well as his Mentor, had him sought out and reclaimed as soon as possible. Too proud and too independent to fear the shafts of wit any more than she feared the frown of royalty, the duchess was perhaps the only person who, in corresponding with Swift, sent, without regard to his talents and the use he often made of them, precisely that which arose in her own mind. Sometimes capricious, sometimes sensible, but always entertaining, because never affected, her grace's letters are among the most amusing in the volume.

There are also several letters of William Pulteney, who, having enjoyed the name and reputation of a patriot during his whole public life, concluded his career by accepting the Earldom of Bath, a step which would have been overlooked in a man of less talent, but which appeared an unpardonable inconsistency and meanness in one who had taught the world to believe that he held his principles with a sincerity and a pride equal to the talents with which he enforced them. The editor, with a good nature which we cannot wholly participate, seems inclined to extenuate if not to vindicate Mr. Pulteney's conduct in this particular. His letters, though they contain little information concerning politics, are easy, witty and diverting.

The second volume of the collection contains chiefly correspondence which took place after Lady Suffolk's retirement from court. This happened in the year 1734, shortly after the death of her husband the Earl of Suffolk. Independent and generous in her disposition, Lady Suffolk had been all her life ignorant of those arts by which court favour can be turned to pecuniary advantage. Her fortune was narrow, but economy and good order rendered it easy; and the beautiful villa of Marble Hall, near Twickenham, had been in part acquired by the bounty of her royal master and mistresses, and here she enjoyed during the rest of her life the liberty she had gained by retiring from court. In 1735, she married the Honourable George Berkeley, youngest son of the second Earl of Berkeley, with whom she appears to have lived in a state of conjugal harmony, which compensated

the unpleasant circumstances attending her first marriage. The correspondence after this period is rather of a more private nature than that which was carried on while Lady Suffolk was in the midst of court bustle and political intrigue; but as she continued to be loved, valued, and occasionally consulted by her former friends, and as these were chiefly distinguished by situation and talent, there is, we think, no decay of interest. There are several letters from Horace Walpole, lively and entertaining, as may be supposed. We had closed our extracts, but there is one of his epistles, which presents so amusing and at the same time so just and characteristic a picture of the grotesque splendour of the receiver-general and court-banker of the last century, that we must trespass upon our limits for a few lines.

Mr. Horace Walpole to Lady Suffolk.

Paris, Dec. 5, 1765, but does not set out till the 11th.

“Since Paris has begun to fill in spite of Fontainebleau, I am much reconciled to it, and have seen several people I like. I am established in two or three societies, where I sup every night; though I have still resisted whist, and am more constant to my old flame too during its absence than I doubt I have been to my other passions. There is a young Comtesse d’Egmont, daughter of Marshal Richelieu, so pretty and pleasing, that if I thought it would break any body’s heart in England, I would be in love with her. Nay, madam, I might be so within all rules here. I am twenty years on the right side of red-heels, which her father wears still, and he has still a wrinkle to come before he leaves them off.

“The dauphin is still alive, but kept so only by cordials. Yet the queen and dauphiness have no doubt of his recovery, having the bishop of Glandève’s word for it, who got a promise from a vision under his own hand and seal. The dauphine has certainly behaved with great courage and tranquillity, but is so touched with the tenderness and attention of his family that he now expresses a wish to live.

“Yesterday I dined at La Borde’s, the great banker of the court. Lord! madam, how little and poor all your houses in London will look after his! In the first place, you must have a garden half as long as the Mall, and then you must have fourteen windows, each as long as the other half, looking into it, and each window must consist of only eight panes of looking-glass. You must have a first and second ante-chamber, and they must have nothing in them but dirty servants. Next must be the grand cabinet, hung with red damask, in gold frames, and covered with eight large and very bad pictures, that cost four thousand pounds—I cannot afford them you a farthing cheaper. Under these, to give an air of lightness, must be hung bas-reliefs in marble. Then there must be immense armoires of tortoiseshell and or-molu, inlaid with medals. And then you may go into the petit cabinet, and then into the great *salle*, and the gallery, and the billiard-room, and the eating-room;

room; and all these must be hung with crystal lustres and looking-glasses from top to bottom; and then you must stuff them fuller than they will hold with granite tables, and porphyry urns, and bronzes, and statues, and vases, and the Lord or the devil knows what. But, for fear you should ruin yourself or the nation, the Duchess de Grammont must give you *this*, and Madam de Marsan *that*; and if you have any body that has any taste to advise you, your eating-room must be hung with huge hunting pieces in frames of all-coloured golds, and at top of one of them you may have a setting-dog, who, having sprung a wooden partridge, it may be flying a yard off against the wainscot. To warm and light this palace, it must cost you eight-and-twenty thousand livres a year in wood and candles. If you cannot afford that, you must stay till my Lord Clive returns with the rest of the Indies.—vol. ii. p. 311.

Some excellent letters also from George Grenville appear in this part of the book: two from Lord Mansfield and Charles Townsend, which the editor inserts as deriving consequence from the reputation of the writers, cannot derive consequence from any thing, and have nothing to recommend them to publication.

We take our leave of the work with thanks to the editor for the labour and attention which he has bestowed upon the illustrations, and biographical notices which he has inserted wherever they are necessary or even desirable. Without prolixity or dullness, the information which they afford us is pointed and correct, and the opinions which they express are acute, liberal, and intelligent. Such notes, easy as they appear, are not to be collected without considerable difficulty, and the most intelligent reader will cheerfully confess that if the information had not been thus supplied, the correspondence would have wanted much of its poignancy and interest.

ART. XIII.—1. *Speech of the Right Honourable George Canning, Secretary of State, for Foreign Affairs, on Wednesday, the 17th of March, 1824; to which is added an Order in Council for improving the Condition of the Slaves in Trinidad.* Published by Authority. London. 1824.

2. *Negro Slavery, published by the Sunday School Tract Society.* 8vo. pp. 10. London.

3. *The Slavery of the British West India Colonies delineated as it exists both in Law and Practice, as compared with the Slavery of other Countries, Ancient and Modern.* By James Stephen, Esq. 8vo. pp. 480. London.

4. *The West India Colonies; the Calumnies and Misrepresentations circulated against them by the Edinburgh Review, Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Cropper, &c. &c. examined and refuted.* By James M'Queen. 8vo. pp. 427. London.

5. *A Commentary on Mr. Clarkson's Pamphlet entitled Thoughts on the Necessity of improving the Condition of the Slaves in the British Colonies, with a View to their ultimate Emancipation.* By the Rev. John Hampden, A. B. 8vo. pp. 69. London.
6. *First Report of the New York Colonization Society.* 8vo. pp. 31. New York.
7. *Colonial Slavery. Letters to the Right Honourable William Huskisson, President of the Board of Trade, &c. &c. on the present Condition of the Slaves, and the Means best adapted to promote the Mitigation and final Extinction of Slavery in the British Colonies.* By John Ashton Yates. 8vo. pp. 110. Liverpool.
8. *Report of a Committee of the Council of Barbadoes, appointed to inquire into the Actual Condition of the Slaves in this Island, with a View to refute certain Calumnies respecting their Treatment; and also to take into Consideration certain Measures affecting the West Indies, which have been lately agitated in the House of Commons.* 8vo. pp. 127. London.

IN our Number for July, 1823, we gave a short sketch of the debate in the House of Commons on the 15th of May, on the motion of Mr. Buxton. We also cursorily reviewed the various publications of the Abolitionists which at that time had proceeded from the press; and endeavoured to supply, what we considered to be absolutely necessary for the elucidation of the subject, a detailed sketch of the actual treatment and condition of the slaves in our West India colonies; concluding with an inquiry into the practicability of effecting improvements in the system of colonial labour, without putting to hazard the property of the planters, or the welfare of the Negroes themselves. We are now anxious to return to the consideration of this great question, to which recent events have attached an increased interest. Before we resume the subject, however, and record the various circumstances that have occurred since the period alluded to, we feel it necessary to transcribe the Resolution moved by Mr. Buxton, as well as those which were substituted by Mr. Canuing, and which received the unanimous concurrence of the House. The resolution moved by Mr. Buxton was as follows:—

‘That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and of the Christian religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British dominions, with as much expedition as may be consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned.’

The following were the Resolutions moved by Mr. Canuing:—

1. ‘That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating

mellorating the condition of the slave population in his Majesty's colonies.

2. 'That through a determined and persevering, but judicious and temperate, enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.

3. 'That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period that may be compatible with the well-being of the slaves, the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned therein.

4. 'That these resolutions be laid before his Majesty.'

In the early part of the last session, papers were presented to parliament by his Majesty's command, containing the correspondence of Earl Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary of State, explanatory of the measures adopted by the government for the amelioration of the condition of the slave population. Lord Bathurst's Dispatches of the 9th of July recommended to the Colonial Legislatures the adoption of those improvements which the government had decided to carry into effect in the colonies more immediately under their own jurisdiction. A general knowledge of their intentions was thus transmitted from one end of the West Indies to the other. We have not space for an analysis of the various answers which were received from the colonies. It is important, however, to observe, that Jamaica and Barbadoes appear to have taken the lead in protesting generally against the recommendations, as well as against the authority of the government to carry those recommendations into effect. The impression produced in the other colonies was various. In some, the discontinuance of the stimulus of the whip in the field, and of the punishment of female slaves under any circumstances by flogging, was protested against, as a measure incompatible with a state of slavery, and with the necessary authority of the masters over their slaves; in others, these innovations did not appear to create any alarm. In the address of the island of St. Vincent it is observed, that those practices had been virtually discontinued; and the government are reproached with their ignorance of the fact. In Demerara the Court of Policy were peculiarly zealous in assenting to and expressing their readiness to enforce those two particular regulations. In Antigua, the draft of a bill was submitted to the legislature, for ameliorating the condition of the slaves; but it was lost on the third reading. The prevailing opinion was, however, that it would be extremely unwise for the local legislatures to be parties to any alterations which might possibly tend to diminish the value of their property in their slaves, until a clear and unambiguous consent to the principle of compensation had been solemnly given by the
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the British legislature; and while it was admitted that such alterations were, in some instances, in themselves desirable, it was still argued that the contingent danger justified a suspension of the intention originally manifested by the local legislatures, to meet the views of government. In Jamaica, contrary to the reasonable expectation that, where a greater proportion of property and talent was assembled, sounder opinions would have been entertained, much irritation and even violence prevailed; although the measures suggested in the circular dispatch of the Colonial Secretary were the same with those recommended by a considerable portion of the West India body in England, and that portion containing men most eminent for their fortune, education, and rank in society:—the partial admission of the evidence of slaves may indeed be considered as an exception; but that admission was guarded by restrictions which disarmed the measure of the objections attached to it in a more general point of view. The Assembly of Jamaica, on the contrary, appeared to suppose that the measures of government had been solely derived from the suggestions of the abolitionists, and that all those principles of prudence were to be abandoned which had hitherto characterized its proceedings in relation to the colonies. It was contended that the West India absentees could not be supposed to possess that local knowledge which was necessary to inspire confidence in their recommendations:—but even if we were to admit that those persons (several of whom were not only extensive proprietors in the West Indies, but had been long resident there, or had visited that country for the express purpose of becoming acquainted with the nature of their property) could be considered as not sufficiently informed upon the subject; it is impossible, at any rate, to deny that they must have had ample means of fortifying their own judgments by access to practical information, and that a sense of their own interest, if no superior principle were supposed to influence them, would have restrained them from becoming parties to suggestions of improvement which could justly be considered as ruinous, or ultimately prejudicial to the prosperity of the colonies.

It was scarcely to be expected that the temper which had manifested itself in Barbadoes and Jamaica should not have existed more or less in the other colonies. No legislative measure has hitherto passed any assembly comprehending the whole of the improvements suggested in the circular Dispatch of the 9th of July. The government had consequently no alternative but to proceed steadily in the execution of that work which was imposed upon them, not less by the vote of parliament than by the general opinion of the country; and the Order in Council for improving the condition of the slaves in Trinidad was accordingly issued.

issued.* We cannot convey to our readers the substance of that Order more satisfactorily than by referring them to the following passage of the speech of Mr. Canning.

‘The course which government intended to be pursued with respect to the Island of Trinidad, will be shown by reference to an Order in Council, which is to be found among the Papers laid on the table.

‘With the permission of the House, I will state to them shortly the different regulations which that Order in Council comprises. The House will have the goodness to compare what is there done with the statement which I made last Session, of what ought to be done; and I think it will appear that none of the points upon which I dwelt, on that occasion, have been neglected.

‘In the first place, it is directed by this Order in Council, that the shocking and unseemly practice of the chastisement of females by the whip, shall be entirely abolished. Here, Sir, it is but justice to say, that the abolition of this punishment has also been recommended by the Resolutions of the West India Body in this Country, in the course of last year. It is also no more than justice to add, that some of the Colonies have adopted, some even anticipated, the recommendation. To raise the weaker sex in self-respect, as well as in the esteem of the stronger, is the first step from barbarism to civilization.

‘The Order in Council next abolishes the use of the whip, when applied to males, as a stimulus to labour;—that wanton and degrading use of it, which places the Negro slave on a footing with the cattle of the field. The whip is not to be carried into the field by the driver, nor is it to be borne as a symbol of authority. It is not in any case to be employed summarily;—but it is not, as to males, to be laid aside as an instrument of punishment. The House will see that it is quite a different thing, when brandished as a symbol of authority, and applied to the brute nerves of the negro as an incitement to labour: or when used for the infliction of a punishment, of which the reasoning faculties of the slave can appreciate the justice. Even as to males, and as an instrument of punishment, the whip is to be employed only under certain regulations, both with respect to the amount of infliction, and to the time. Delay of punishment for some time after the commission of the offence is the best security against abuse from the suddenness of passion. It is further provided that witnesses shall be present at the punishment of a slave; and that all punishments shall be accurately recorded. These alterations at once raise the mass of the negro population from the brute state to that of man.

‘To provide the means of religious instruction and worship is an object first indeed in importance, but necessarily subsequent in order to those

* This Order in Council was framed with reference to the Spanish law and custom which is in force in the Island of Trinidad. It has been stated in Parliament, that Orders in Council comprehending similar provisions, but varying in the terms of their enactment, will be issued for the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Berbice, and the Cape of Good Hope, and the French colonies of St. Lucie and Mauritius, equally with reference to the existence of Dutch and French law and custom in those respective colonies.

which

which I have already mentioned; because it is not till the Slave population are raised in the scale of nature that they can be capable of comprehending, or fitted to receive, the blessings of Christianity. It is intended to increase the amount, and widen the basis of the Ecclesiastical Establishment in the West Indies. That Establishment was founded for the benefit of the White Population alone. It was no more calculated for the Negro than for the brute animal that shares his toils. I am not stating this as a matter of charge, but as a matter of fact. This Establishment, though founded on the principles of the National Church, will not exclude other denominations of Christians. The authority and the discipline of the national church will be lodged in Bishops, to be resident in the Colonies. With religious worship will be combined religious instruction. It is not my business on the present occasion to trouble the House with details: but here, again, I am bound to do justice to the West India Body in this country, who have declared their anxiety for the institution of religious instruction, and to more than one of the Colonies which have already acted upon that declaration.

'Sir, after religious worship and religious instruction naturally come those charities of life, which religion promotes and sanctifies. The Order in Council enjoins the local government of Trinidad to encourage marriage. This injunction, I am again bound to say, and I do so with much satisfaction, is in perfect consonance with the recommendation of the persons most interested in the Colonies who reside in this Country, and has also received a ready assent in many of the Colonies. In consideration of marriage, and of the other charities of life, which grow out of that connexion, it is provided by the order in council, that in all future sales—I fear that I must still use that word—families shall not be separated. In transferring slaves from one property to another, care will be taken in future that husband and wife, or reputed husband and wife, and parent and child, shall not be severed from each other.

'The influence of family ties will naturally beget in the mind of the Slave an increased desire of property. The Order in Council gives the security of law to that possession of property which is at present respected by custom; and enjoins that measures shall be taken to secure to the Slave the power of bequeathing it at his death. In aid of these provisions it has been thought advisable, (however singular it may appear, that a very late invention of a Country far advanced in civilization, should be supposed capable of taking root in a rude society like that of the West Indies)—it has been thought advisable, I say, to institute a Bank, in which the little savings of Slaves may be accumulated. To the right of enjoyment, and to the power of bequest, secured by law, will be thus added the further security derived from the overwatching eye of public observation.

'Sir, when, by measures of this kind, new ideas are infused into the mind of the Negro,—when he is lifted from a level with the beast of the field,—when he has been allowed to take his stand amongst the human race—

*"Culmine turri
Jussus, et erectos ad sidera tollere cultus;"*

when

when he has been taught to appreciate the endearments of family connexions, the ties of kindred, and the blessings of property,—when his nature, as well as his condition, has been thus improved,—then comes the fit opportunity for considering a subject, which is surrounded by many practical difficulties—the admissibility of the evidence of Slaves in courts of justice.

‘It would be as wild to say, that the evidence of slaves should be indiscriminately admitted in all cases, as it would be unjust to exclude it in all cases. In this country, a person in the situation of a slave,—I do not mean politically, but morally,—an infant, whose mind is not sufficiently expanded to be able to estimate the obligation of an oath, is not permitted to give evidence. It is first ascertained, by examination, that the mind of the infant is in fact so matured, as to be capable of comprehending that obligation. It would be improper to admit the evidence of Blacks without a similar guard. It is proposed, therefore, that those persons who are to have the care of instructing the Negroes should have power to certify, not with respect to a particular case in which the evidence of a Slave may be wanted, but generally, that such and such Slaves have made such advances in civilization as to be cognizant of the nature of an oath. It is proposed, that a register of such Slaves shall be kept, constituting as it were a privileged class, and presenting (what is the spring of all human action) something like an object of ambition to their fellow-slaves. Under this arrangement, the competency of a Slave to give evidence will not be judged by subjecting him at the moment to an examination, probing his intellect to the quick, by questions which he may not be able to comprehend: but it will be known at once, when any individual Slave is proposed as a witness on a trial, whether he is one of that class whose evidence has been certified to be admissible. It is just to state, that under certain qualifications, the evidence of Slaves is already admitted in the courts of justice of Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent, and I believe St. Christophers, and Tobago.

A natural consequence of the determination to impart religious instruction to the slaves, will be the abolition of Sunday markets, and of Sunday labour. The order in council prescribes this abolition, so soon as the means of religious worship shall be established. It prescribes immediately a restriction of the Sunday market, within certain hours—ultimately, as I have said, its total abolition. In some of the colonies this regulation is already partially anticipated.

By this process, and by these degrees may the slave be gradually fitted for the last grand consummation of benefit, the power of acquiring his freedom. Heretofore the restraints on granting manumissions were extremely numerous; but these are now considerably reduced; several taxes and imposts have been removed in different colonies; and in others, a like disposition has been manifested. The order in council, however, goes beyond what has been hitherto at all generally practised in the colonies. It ordains that a Negro, who has acquired sufficient property, shall, under certain guards and regulations, therein set forth, be entitled to purchase his own freedom, the freedom of his wife, or that of his children.

‘I have

"I have, thus, sir, stated to the house, the provisions of the order in council. I know, that, with respect to the last point, namely, the purchase of freedom; great prejudice, great dislike, great apprehension, prevails. I am far from saying that it is not a perplexing question; but the principle has been admitted to a certain extent in St. Kitt's, and also at Trinidad. No principle can be considered as impracticable, which has, even in a single instance, been voluntarily admitted in the West Indies. It is astonishing how much good might be done by merely collecting, and bringing to bear on one society, all the beneficial regulations which are scattered through the different colonies. I admit on the one hand, that the existence of such beneficial regulations affords an answer to the general declamation which has been heard about the total neglect and abandonment of the Negroes by West Indian governments and proprietors: but I must on the other hand contend, that the people of this country, who, on account of their distance from the colonies, are compelled to look at them through the eyes of others, are entitled to consider as good authority for any improvement of which they recommend the introduction, the fact, that what they wish to recommend has been by any one West Indian community already voluntarily adopted."—pp. 10, &c.

The West India colonies, having local legislatures, will therefore, when they meet in the course of the present year, perceive that the government, as well as parliament itself, have made allowance for that irritation which has characterized their public proceedings; they will find a standard by which to regulate their own legislative measures; they will be called upon to embody into their local law those improvements in the condition of the slaves which are enjoined by the Order in Council for Trinidad, and confirmed by the unanimous sanction of the House of Commons.

What measures it might be expedient for government, under the sanction of parliament, to pursue, in the event of a permanent resistance to the recommendations which have been sent out, is a question that has been most prudently set aside in the discussions which took place in the course of the last session. It is not fair, at least it is not wise, to argue that the resistance of the colonies will be perpetual; it does not require to be deeply acquainted with human nature to perceive the absurdity of expecting to induce men to improve their conduct by the assertion, blended with taunt and menace, that you are convinced they are incapable of acting better. Such a mode of remonstrance would, under any circumstances, be imprudent; but, in the present case, it would be in the highest degree illiberal and unjust. It is by no means the love of slavery which characterizes the proceedings or the sentiments of the West India colonies: it is the dread of the loss of property;—it is the instinctive anxiety for the preservation of life;—it is the fear

fear of an experiment involving a radical change, which, however benevolent in its intention, may lead to results which the promoters of it did not contemplate, and which their habitual modes of thinking, and their means of information, may not have rendered them competent to anticipate. The real causes of the resistance of the colonists have neither been fairly appreciated nor fully understood. Were the most intemperate of the West India colonists to be asked whether they would consent to the abolition of slavery, provided they could still find the means of prosecuting the cultivation of their properties with the same advantages, we venture confidently to predict that the unanimous answer would be, that they had no predilection whatever for slavery; that, on the contrary, they felt it to be full of inconveniences and dangers: but they would add,—‘this is an evil not created by the colonists themselves, or for their separate interests, but by the mother-country and for national purposes; satisfy our minds that a change can be effected, without accomplishing our ruin, and we will concur with you in every effort which promises a result beneficial to all parties.’

It appears, therefore, to us, that all considerations which do not directly apply to the question of the practicability of the transmutation of slave labour into free labour by a process not endangering the property of the planter, are completely irrelevant; and that the object of all those who discuss this question should be, instead of awakening animosities and widening dissensions, to invite both parties to some common ground, where at least they may agree in principle, though they may differ in some points of practice. We would inquire, therefore,—whether the resolutions of the House of Commons on the subject of colonial slavery, passed in the course of the last year, admit of an explanation, as to their spirit and their letter, which would be satisfactory to both the parties opposed on this subject—the Abolitionists and the West Indians? The former insist, that the slaves will be made more valuable to their masters as free labourers than they have been in the state of slavery: the latter are sceptical as to the result of such an experiment; and they contend, that compensation is due to them for any legislative change which affects the value or security of their property:—but if such transmutation would, as is asserted, be necessarily advantageous, these objections would be removed.

The first Resolution of the House of Commons declared that it was ‘expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the slaves in his Majesty’s colonies.’ With respect to this resolution, we think it may be asserted, that the House never could be supposed to admit a claim for indemnification on the part of the proprietors of slaves upon the introduction

duction of such measures generally; but, at the same time, we conceive, that if any specific measure suggested for that purpose can be proved in its necessary consequences to have produced a positive injury to property legally acquired, there can be no objection on the part of parliament to consider such claim for indemnification upon its special grounds. In Trinidad, for example, it is contended, that it is an act of great hardship to prohibit the voluntary labour of a slave on a Sunday, if he chuses to work for hire; but we do not understand how compensation can fairly be claimed for a prohibition which places the planter of the West Indies only on the same footing as the inhabitants of this country, who are equally subject to the necessity of allowing one-seventh portion of the week to be passed in a state of relaxation from labour. The master never purchased the right of working his slave on a Sunday.

With respect to the second Resolution, we conceive it may be fairly asserted, that the House of Commons never contemplated the accomplishment of such a progressive improvement otherwise than by the gradual dissemination of moral and religious instruction. Such changes, indeed, in the condition of any class of society, are inevitably of slow progress; more especially must they be so in a climate, which is calculated to supply the wants of nature almost spontaneously in some situations, and in all with comparatively little exertion; and where consequently the temptation to work as a free labourer must be excited by the impulse of a new series of feelings and opinions, creating an interest in property, and a fixed and unshaken desire to better the condition of himself and his family. And even this supposed change must be considered to rest rather on speculation than on precedent; since we may confidently assert, (from the result of much inquiry,) that no example whatever exists, of free negroes collectively performing the duties required in the cultivation of the sugar cane, the staple production of the tropics.

With respect to the third Resolution, it might be unquestionably asserted that, when parliament expressed its anxiety for the improvement of the situation of the slaves at the earliest period which should be compatible with the conditions specified in the resolution, it never considered that that object could be effected otherwise than by the operation of those gradual changes to which we have just alluded. We would not prejudice the case, as to what effect may be ultimately produced by a progressive transmutation of slave labour into free labour; and we are in the fullest degree convinced of the difficulties, and of the uncertain success which may await the experiment; but we must with equal confidence

confidence assert, that if it were successfully carried into effect, the property of the planters would be benefited by it rather than injured.

In the view, then, which we take of this great question, we think that much which occupies the attention of the public, is comparatively matter of little importance, and in a practical point of view, irrelevant. It is therefore on the question of free and slave labour, that the abolitionist and the West Indian should endeavour to meet. It is on this debateable ground, that they may concur in the pursuit of an inquiry, which must afford much interesting information to both parties. And it clearly appears to us, that without such an inquiry no real progress can be made in the final solution of the difficulties which encompass this momentous question.

The labour required for the production of sugar has these peculiar characteristics,—it is continuous, and sometimes severe; it is incapable of being interrupted for any length of time, without serious prejudice to the cultivators; and at present, it is impossible to deny that one of the principal inducements to that continuous exertion, is the dread of punishment. We must here again introduce the remark, that it is the nature of the African to be indolent, inasmuch as his wants are few, and those few almost spontaneously satisfied in the climate under which he lives. There is little difference of opinion among those who have examined the subject, as to that inseparable connection of exertion with climate, which would enable any one to pronounce on the probable industry of a nation, from the mere knowledge of this physical circumstance. This proposition would necessarily be modified by density of population and particular circumstances of civilization; but still the principle is true, and not to be dismissed from our view in the consideration of this difficult problem. The practical question then is—what stimulus do we expect, by our progressive improvements, to substitute for this fear of punishment, so as to induce the free Negro to perform the task of sugar cultivation with that energy and continuity which can alone render his labour beneficial to the planter? It is necessary to substitute some equivalent *moral* stimulus. The first, and unquestionably the only safe basis, on which we can proceed, is moral and religious instruction. On this must be superinduced the artificial wants of civilized life—the fair desire of the acquisition of property; which object of desire, when once created, can only be obtained through the medium of continued industry. Can any principle be suggested, under the operation of which free labour can be substituted for slave labour, that is not brought about by such a process? If the answer be in the negative, the question then is, how are we to regulate

gulate the intermediate stage between the present state of things and the accomplishment of the object, without injury to the property of the slave proprietor? And if injury of a pecuniary sort be inseparable from this transmutation, in what degree, and in what manner, and when, is compensation to be given? It appears to us, that it is by such an inquiry alone, fairly and temperately pursued, that the subject can be brought fully into view; and it will, moreover, have this peculiar advantage, that parliamentary discussions might be postponed until adequate information had been procured, while the attention of the contending parties, being called to one common principle, would be diverted from those retrospective considerations of wrongs and injuries on both sides, which have produced, and must and will produce, the most inconvenient and dangerous results both at home and abroad.

The Order in Council has been framed in furtherance of the resolutions of parliament. We consider it as the commencement of one of the most important political experiments ever attempted; and we are satisfied that if angry feelings are suffered to prevail on either side so as to impede its fair course, and to prevent the operation of those natural causes, which are to combine with law and regulation in its completion, the most fatal results will ensue, results, in which not only the property of the planter, the existence of the colonies, but the interest of the mother-country will be sacrificed; and sacrificed with a convulsion, which, in comparison with the accompanying horrors and devastation, will make the pecuniary loss appear as nothing.

We have already stated, that no precedent exists of free negroes having performed the duties necessarily required in the cultivation and manufacture of sugar, in such a manner as to afford a profit to their employers. We are not, however, in any degree disposed to infer from this fact, the impossibility of free labour being ever substituted for slave labour with advantage to the proprietors; we only mean to show that such a contingency has not yet taken place in the production of sugar in the West Indies, and that it can only take place under a combination of circumstances which has never yet occurred; and if we do not succeed in bringing about this substitution, it is absolutely impossible to escape from the alternative of either affording to our West India colonies a pecuniary compensation from the national funds, or of effecting the ruin of the proprietors, who will be unable to carry on the cultivation in which they have vested their capital under public sanction, and in consequence of public encouragement. If it can be shown that our opinions are erroneous, we shall most willingly abandon them; but we shall never yield to declamation, or to arguments that are not directly founded upon facts of a clear and unimpeachable nature;

nature; and—in a question of such extreme delicacy, we must beg leave to observe that those who advance facts, of the correctness of which they are not absolutely certain, allow themselves a latitude very nearly approaching to criminality. We are sometimes afraid, that there are persons engaged in polemical controversy upon this subject, so hurried on by their detestation of a state of slavery—so morbidly anxious for its extinction, that they are disposed to adopt that most dangerous of all human principles of action, that the end may occasionally sanctify the employment of means which in themselves, and abstractedly taken, cannot be justified.

In the British and Colonial Weekly Register for June the 19th, 1824, we find the following letter:

‘SIR,

A Tract has been issued by the Sunday School Tract Society, intituled “Negro Slavery,” which comprises in the space of ten pages a concise enumeration of the horrors of slavery, plainly told and clearly put together. It is a most useful paper, and I wish you, sir, to take this public notice of it, that it may be more known. By thus impregnating the minds of the children of the poor with a thorough knowledge and deep-rooted hatred of slavery, we are gaining a vast accession of strength from a class of people who, unless they be informed in this cheap, and easy, and concise method, will remain altogether ignorant of the question, and thus, through the advocates of the cause, find reason to deplore the coldness of the present generation; and though it may not be granted to them to see the final extinction of this system, they may yet reflect that a people is rising into manhood and activity, full of abhorrence of slavery and of zeal for its abolition, in high spirits and in the vigour of youth, energetic and determined, to whom they may safely commit the accomplishment of the work which they have been compelled to quit.’

We are well aware that this is only a part, and a very small part, of a system which is now in active operation, and which we cannot but decidedly reprobate; not that we object in the slightest degree to a deep-rooted hatred of slavery, or a thorough knowledge upon that or any other subject; but we must protest against this thorough knowledge or deep-rooted hatred being confounded with religious feeling, or employed for party purposes. The parliament having deliberately placed in the hands of the executive government the solution of this difficult and fearful question, we consider it a breach of public faith to thwart and impede their measures, unless it can be shown that they are disposed not to act up to the fair spirit of the resolutions to which the House unanimously assented, and which must be both the basis and the key-stone of their policy and practice. We say nothing of the irritating effects which must be produced on the mind of the West Indian colonist by this perpetual identification of him with the system pronounced to be so detestable,

able, but for which we have already said he is not responsible, and for which therefore it is most unjust to reproach him.

Sierra Leone is often cited as a proof of the advantage of free over slave labour. We consider that a practical experiment has been carried on in that colony with respect to the capacity of the African; it is there that we shall have an opportunity of ascertaining to what degree he is capable of intellectual improvement and moral conduct, and of adaptation to the duties of civilized society. That such an experiment was highly desirable we admit; we are therefore prepared to approve the considerable expenditure of the national capital which has been liberally afforded by parliament for the purposes of its trial—we consider that experiment comparatively in its infancy—but we absolutely deny that, as far as it has gone, it in the slightest degree affects the question of the transmutation of slave labour into free labour, *under circumstances wherein the pecuniary interests of the proprietor are equitably regarded.* The question is not whether the African slave, repossessed of freedom in the colony of Sierra Leone, may not, after having been maintained at the expense of the government for some years, be placed in a situation where he can procure a subsistence for himself,—the implements and the capital necessary for the preparation of the land being provided for him, and the resources of the parent state afforded to give every advantage to the disposal of commodities produced by him—but whether the slave made free in the West Indies will consent to the exertion of labour on a sugar estate for the sake of receiving an adequate return in wages, whereby the proprietor will be enabled to continue its cultivation with advantage.

After all, the labour in Sierra Leone is not the cultivation of sugar, and therefore the analogy fails at once; for it is the cultivation of sugar that is the main practical question with respect to the West India proprietor.

With respect to the island of St. Domingo, an example of far greater importance, we have more to observe: Mr. Whitmore, in his Speech, (13th of May) refers to a letter from the secretary, M. Inginac, to the president of Hayti, addressed to his correspondent in London; in that letter, after remarking the progressive increase of the prosperity of the colony, he states,

Commerce has considerably increased, of which you will have an idea by consulting the paper I send you of the importations and exportations of the year 1822, collected at the different custom-houses. I am nearly certain, that the quantity of coffee produced in the year 1823, surpasses more than a third the quantity produced in 1822, and there is great probability that the crop of the present year will be still more considerable, because more people are employed cultivating the fields, because they are more assiduous in their tasks, and more contented, in consequence

consequence of our rural code having been much improved, and offering good security to the cultivation.*

We

* We do not mean to impute any improper motives or even want of caution on the part of this gentleman in this particular instance in which he founded his arguments upon a document that could not but be considered by him as official. But if we compare this statement with the official returns from the United States we shall find a discrepancy which makes it impossible that both official documents can be correct.

In a table drawn up by M. Inginac, entitled 'General Balance of the Commerce of the different Foreign Nations with Haiti for the year 1823,' it was stated, that the United States employed 884 vessels of the tonnage of 88,478 tons to import cargoes into St. Domingo, which cargoes were valued at 6,641,570 dollars. We have no means of comparing the statement as to the number of vessels, as the official returns of the United States for the same year only give the tonnage, and which is stated to have been only 44,113 tons, which is not one half of the quantity mentioned by the secretary-general of Haiti. The value of the exports sent from the United States to Haiti is given as being worth 2,119,811 dollars, which is less than one-third of the Haitian document.

The export trade from Haiti to the United States is said by the secretary-general to employ 508 vessels of 50,912 tons. The United States official returns only admit of 44,300 tons, including their own and foreign vessels, and of the last, 736 tons are stated to have been Haitian.

The total value of all the articles exported from Haiti to the United States is represented in the Haitian document to have been 3,293,892 dollars, nearly one third of the value of all the exports from the island. The official returns of the United States; however, give only 2,341,817, as the value of the exports from Haiti to America.

The value of the coffee exported from Haiti to the United States is represented in the Haitian document to have been 10,144,578 dollars, which must be an error, as coffee forms only part of the exports, and yet is here made to exceed the whole amount in value. The United States' official document gives 1,801,150 dollars as the value of the coffee from Haiti; and the weight thereof is stated as being 8,394,393 pounds.

As we have drawn attention more particularly to the cultivation of sugar by free labour in the West Indies, we shall notice the discrepancy in this article also between the official documents of Haiti, and the United States. The former represent sugar to the value of 64,994 dollars, as having been sent to the United States, the official returns of which, on the other hand, only acknowledge to have received sugar to the value of 1631 dollars, and give the weight thereof as being 24,241 lbs. or about sixteen hog-heads.

From the proclamation of President Boyer, it becomes doubtful how much even of that small quantity was produced in Haiti, as the whole, or part thereof, may have been imported or smuggled from the neighbouring islands, where cultivation by slaves prevails. The doubt, however, is merely expressed to show the unsatisfactory state of our knowledge as to the value of free labour in the cultivation of this staple production of our West India colonies. In the letter from M. Inginac to his anonymous correspondent, he says that the commerce of Haiti is increasing, and that the quantity of coffee produced in 1823 will be a third more than in 1822.

As Great Britain and the United States are represented by the Haitian documents to be the greatest importers of coffee, the returns of these countries ought to show this increase.

In 1822 Great Britain imported from Haiti 41,632 cwt. or 4,662,784 lbs. in weight, which the Haitian document gives as being 13,546,591 dollars in value—an obvious mistake, for both statements cannot be correct. Taking the smaller quantity as being most favourable to M. Inginac's accuracy, by adding one third to it we have 6,217,045 lbs. weight which Great Britain ought to have imported from Haiti in 1823; instead of which the official documents laid before parliament show that only 44,442 cwt. or 4,952,864 lbs. of coffee was received from Haiti.

As the coffee sent from Haiti to the United States formed four-fifths of the value of the total exports, if such an addition had taken place, as M. Inginac states, we ought to have found the total value of the exports from Haiti to the United States in 1823 to

We presume no abolitionist, in citing the example of St. Domingo, would venture to argue that the increased happiness and prosperity of the slaves, under their new condition in that island, (admitting, for the sake of the argument, that such improvement has taken place,) would justify a general revolution in our West India colonies, accompanied with a similar destruction and ruin of the European inhabitants of those colonies. With respect to the improved condition of the Haytian slave, in his new character as a free labourer, we find certain qualifications in the *Code Henri*, which must be very mortifying to the advocates of sudden emancipation, for in this very colony, which burst forth into a state of freedom from slavery, we find the same hours of labour irrevocably established as in the slave laws of our own colonies—work was to commence with the day-light, and to be continued uninterruptedly till eight o'clock; one hour was to be allowed to the labourer for breakfast, on the spot where employed—at nine, work was to recommence, until noon, when two hours repose were to be given to the labourer—at two, exactly, he was to recommence work, and not to leave off before night-fall: and no labourer, without permission of the lieutenant of the king, was to be allowed to absent himself from the plantation on working days, unless at the special request of the overseer, or conductor. We do not know how far these regulations, supported by strong penal enforcements, in some cases amounting to the loss of life, and pronounced to be 'irrevocable,' have been modified, but we think them eminently calculated to show, that the gradations of freedom hitherto attained by the labouring population of that island are not very far removed from the character of slavery; and we have an authority, to which the abolitionists perpetually refer us, to prove that even where the freedom of the slave was most dear to the government, and was, in fact, the principle of its existence, these cautionary measures were still deemed necessary for the support and welfare of the state. Toussaint L'Ouverture, in one of his proclamations, in the ninth

have been 3,293,892 dollars; instead of which, by official returns, it was only 2,341,817 dollars.

As to the assertion respecting the great increase of commerce in 1823, the official returns of the United States, who carry on one-third of the trade of Haiti, show that in 1822 they employed in that trade 42,975 tons of American and 1325 tons of foreign shipping; but that in 1823, so far from increasing, the American tonnage employed was only 32,292 tons, and the foreign only 1,011 tons, forming the diminution of about one-fourth in the tonnage employed, if the American official documents be correct. We have no hesitation in saying that, after a careful examination of the subject, we entertain no doubt whatever of the accuracy of the American statement as compared with that of the Haitian secretary, and under this conviction we cannot too strongly reprobate this attempt to impose upon our credulity, and we are satisfied that it will meet the reprobation of all reasonable men, whatever their sentiments may be upon the general question; and we hope it may serve as a caution to all those who wish to form an accurate opinion upon this contested subject, to examine well the data on either side before they surrender their conviction.

year

year of the French Republic, referring to a former proclamation, which he recites, and which was calculated to establish a uniform system of laborious industry, peremptorily directs,—

‘All field labourers, men and women, now in a state of idleness, living in towns, villages, and on other plantations than those to which they belong, with the intention to evade work, even those of both sexes, who had not been employed in field labour since the revolution, are required to return immediately to their respective plantations.’

And in the 7th Article,

‘The Overseers and Drivers (as it is translated in the appendix to the “Crisis of the Sugar Colonies”) of every Plantation, shall make it their business to inform the commanding officer of the district in regard to the conduct of the labourers under their management, as well as of those who shall absent themselves from their plantations without a pass, and of those who, residing on the estate, shall refuse to work; they shall be forced to go to the labour of the field; and if they prove obstinate, they shall be arrested and carried before the military commandant, in order to suffer the punishment above prescribed, according to the exigence of the case, the punishment being fine and imprisonment.’

The remark made upon this proclamation in the ‘Crisis of the Sugar Colonies,’ published in 1802, and supposed to be written by Mr. Stephen, is this:

‘The paper certainly, if genuine, proves that Toussaint had established, or was endeavouring to introduce, a very strict military government; but a man must be grossly ignorant of the nature of West India bondage, not to know that such a government, however to English eyes disgusting, is, when compared to domestic slavery, a substitute most ardently to be desired.’

Mr. Stephen, in his work, ‘The Slavery of the British West India Colonies delineated,’ p. 90, states, with respect to St. Domingo, that—‘the negroes there are working for themselves, at their own choice, and many of them doubtless no more than the subsistence of their families demands.’ And he quotes this with reference to a passage in a publication of President Boyer, who says that a labourer in Hayti can obtain his subsistence for a week, by working half-an-hour in each day. We do not dispute the correctness of this statement; but how does it accord with the arguments of those who insist that the labour of slaves, when free, is more productive than in a state of slavery; and who cite the instance of St. Domingo in support of that observation? We are not here considering the relative condition of the human being in these two states, but the possibility of effecting the change in the manner that we have sketched, or with reference to the necessity of compensation, in case that change should not be effected without a sacrifice of the interests of the

proprieters. And here we might dismiss the subject, resting upon the authority of Mr. Stephen himself, one of the most able and indefatigable advocates in the cause of abolition, and showing the impossibility of his argument being compatible with the arguments of his friends, who are contending for the superior advantages, in a pecuniary and commercial sense, of African-free labour, in contrast with that of slavery; but we are anxious, in corroboration of this opinion, to cite a passage from the above mentioned pamphlet, 'The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies,' which appears to us to confirm, in the most conclusive manner, the reasoning which we have adopted. Speaking of St. Domingo, the author says:

'While the negroes were in bondage, that colony was rich and flourishing by the effects of their labour: since their enfranchisement, it has become comparatively almost a neglected waste. All the solicitations of the officers of the republic, all the influence and authority of their own favourite chiefs, have failed to recal them to any tolerable degree of regular industry. What then remains but, either to restore the rigid yoke of the private master, and renew the coercion of the cart-whip, or permanently to leave this fine island in its present unprofitable state?'

And is this all that 'remains'? We trust not. We trust that an alternative may be found between the two extremes of restoring the rigid yoke of the master and the coercion of the cart-whip, or of leaving the West Indies in a situation similar to that of St. Domingo. If such an alternative can be found, it is in the gradual operation of those changes and regulations which the government, under the sanction of parliament, have directed. But we are decidedly of opinion, that this intermediate alternative can never be accomplished, unless the abolitionists, as a body, are contented to leave the question in the hands of the government, and to wait for the operation of time and circumstances, to effect that change which the ingenuity of man would be utterly incompetent to bring about by any efforts of legislation. The volcano pours forth its lava, and the surrounding country presents only a scene of sterility and devastation. No human efforts can remedy this infliction; but the slow and progressive course of seasons gradually diffuses over the surface the elements of vegetation, till in the progress of time, the forest and the harvest occupy that space which had formerly presented only the traces of destruction and ruin. We must be contented in these important experiments upon the moral condition of mankind, to take our analogies from the lessons which nature affords us; and however mortifying it may prove to our vanity, or tantalizing to our impatience, we must wait with resignation, but with confidence, for that period when 'a benign though insensible revolution

revolution in opinions and manners* can be expected to work out their full and adequate completion.

After what we have observed, it may be expected of us to point out in some detail the contrast which, with reference to her annual production, St. Domingo affords in the present day, to that of her state under the dominion of France. Before her revolution she produced 150,000 hogsheads of sugar (19,500,000 cwts.); and her exports collectively amounted to seven or eight million sterling. It is doubtful whether she now exports more than four or five hundred hogsheads. And we find in Lord Bathurst's speech that the president had actually issued a proclamation wherein the introduction of foreign sugar into St. Domingo is distinctly admitted. We leave our readers to guess how absurd such a proclamation would be, in a colony where there was any power of producing sugar, in the manner and in the quantity which St. Domingo formerly produced it. We subjoin a passage from the proclamation:—

'Ne voyons-nous pas tous les jours arriver dans nos ports des marchandises sortant des îles dont il est question? Ne savons-nous pas que des caboteurs haitiens vont y charger à leur bord, du sucre, du sirop, du tafia, du rum, &c. par l'appât d'un gain illicite, et les introduisent en fraude sur notre territoire contre le vœu de nos lois? Pourquoi donc, malgré tous ces avantages que les colons des îles de notre archipel retirent de leurs communications avec nous, ne cessent-ils d'avoir en exécution le nom haitien, et d'insulter à notre caractère national par des actes indignes?

'A tant d'outrages il faut une fin.'

(Signed)

BOYER.

(Countersigned)

B. INGINAC.

Dated 20th March, 1823.

20th Year of the Independence.

With reference to the subject of the comparative merits of free and slave labour, it may further be interesting to those who are disposed to look to the analogies of history for illustration of passing events, to refer to the beginning of the sixteenth century; not that we are disposed ourselves to rate such analogies very highly, for unless the circumstances and conditions under which events occur be nearly similar, no practical inference can be founded upon a comparison between them. At the period to which we allude, there appear to have existed parties who may be considered as the Abolitionists and the Colonists of that day. In the year 1511, Montesino, an eminent preacher among the Dominicans, endeavoured to show, that the maintenance of the Indians in a state of slavery by the Spaniards, was contrary to natural justice, to the precepts of Christianity, and to sound policy. The colonists, at

* See page 8 of Report of the African Institution, 1815, by Mr. Stephen.

whose

whose head was Don Diego Columbus, complained of the monk to his superiors, who, however, instead of condemning, applauded his doctrine, as being equally pious and expedient:—those who approved but were unwilling to avow their approbation of the existing system, endeavoured to palliate what they could not justify; and they alleged in excuse that it was impossible to carry on any improvement in the colonial possessions of Spain, especially in the colony of St. Domingo, unless the Spaniards possessed such authority over the natives as legally to compel them to labour. The parties thus opposed to each other applied to Ferdinand for his decision. The speculative point in controversy was determined in favour of the Dominicans, and the Indians were declared to be a free people entitled to all the natural rights of men; notwithstanding which, however, the *repartimientos*, or distributions of Indians among the colonists, were continued upon their ancient footing. As this determination admitted the principle for which the Dominicans contended, they renewed their efforts to obtain relief for the Indians with additional boldness. After some time had elapsed the colonists prevailed, and Ferdinand issued a decree in contradiction to his former opinion, which stated that the servitude of the Indians was warranted both by the laws of God and man; and then, with a view of propitiating the religious party, he declared that unless they were subjected to the Spaniards and compelled to reside under their inspection, it would be impossible to reclaim them from idolatry, or to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith; and as a qualification to this declaration, he published an edict containing general regulations for their treatment, which was of the mildest character. The Dominicans, though unconvinced, were silenced, and retired from the contest, until the violent oppressions of Albuquerque, the new distributor of Indians, revived their zeal, and called forth the energies of Bartholomew De las Casas. This intrepid champion of the Indians addressed Cardinal Ximenes, who as Regent had assumed the reins of government in Castile upon the death of the king; and as his impetuous mind delighted in schemes bold and uncommon, he soon fixed on a plan which astonished the ministers trained up under the formal and cautious administration of Ferdinand. Without regarding either the rights of Don Diego Columbus, or the regulations established under the late reign, he resolved to send three persons to America with authority, after examining all circumstances on the spot, to decide finally with respect to the point in question. Las Casas was appointed to accompany them, with the title of Protector of the Indians. The three commissioners were chosen from the monks of St. Jerome, as being a neutral party between the Dominicans and their opponents the Franciscans. To supply

supply their deficiency in legal knowledge, Zuazo, a private lawyer of distinguished probity, was associated with them.

Upon the arrival of these men with Las Casas at St. Domingo, the first act of their authority was to set at liberty all the Indians who had been given to Spanish courtiers, or to any person not residing in America. This, together with the information which had been received from Spain concerning the object of the commission, spread a general alarm. The colonists concluded that they were to be deprived at once of the hands with which they carried on their labour, and that their ruin was unavoidable: but the fathers of St. Jerome proceeded with such caution and prudence, as soon dissipated their fears. They discovered in every step of their conduct a knowledge of the world, and of affairs, which is seldom acquired in a cloister. Their ears were open to information from every quarter; they compared the different accounts which they received, and after a mature consideration of the whole subject, they were fully satisfied that the state of the colony rendered it impossible to adopt the plan proposed by Las Casas, and recommended by the cardinal. Their opinion was, that no allurements were so powerful as to surmount the natural aversion of the Indians to any laborious effort, and that nothing but the authority of a master could compel them to work; and if they were not kept constantly under the eye and discipline of a superior, so great was their natural listlessness and indifference, that they would neither attend to religious instruction, nor observe those rites of Christianity which they had been already taught.

The remedy provided for these difficulties was certainly of the most singular nature: Las Casas proposed to purchase a sufficient number of negroes from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa, and to transport them to America, in order that they might be employed as slaves in working the mines and cultivating the ground; thus, as Robertson remarks, 'Las Casas, from the inconsistency natural to men who hurry with headlong impetuosity towards a favourite point, was incapable of distinguishing the palpable iniquity of reducing one race of men to slavery while he was devising and consulting about the means of restoring liberty to another.' Some of the abolitionists of the present day might unprofitably think, by this judicious observation: it characterizes that 'inconsistency' which we detect in their conduct, of 'hurrying on with headlong impetuosity towards a favourite point;' while it forcibly points out to them the unreasonableness, if not the iniquity, of sacrificing, by hasty and injudicious measures, the property and possibly the lives of their fellow countrymen, the colonists of the West Indies, to the object, however honourable, however just, however Christian, of rescuing men from a state of slavery.

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There are other points bearing directly upon this subject, on which we should have wished to enlarge, had we not been restrained by the length to which this article has already extended; viz. the result of the abolition of slavery in Guadaloupe and Cayenne—the abolition of slavery in Ceylon, under the judicious regulations of Sir Edward Barnes—at St. Helena, under the auspices of Sir Hudson Lowe—the experiment at Barbadoes on the estate of Mr. Steele, &c.; the tendency of all which would be to establish the fact, that in cases where an emancipation had taken place in our own colonies, no sort of analogy existed to render the experiment a model for any measures in the West Indies. As ‘Mr. Steele’s system,’ however, has been repeatedly quoted, and much relied upon, as proving the facility and safety of the transition from slavery to freedom, and the superior profit attending the cultivation of sugar-estates by free labour, we cannot pass it over quite so summarily, or refrain from pointing out the incorrectness of some of the facts stated in support of it, and the fallacy of the conclusions which have been drawn from them.

The failure of this system either as increasing the comforts of the negroes, or as an experiment of profitable cultivation, is shown in Mr. M’Queen’s work, and in a letter recently published by Mr. Sealy, the manager of a neighbouring estate during the same period, and now residing at Bristol. The following is an extract from Mr. Sealy’s letter:

‘It so happened that I resided on the nearest adjoining estate to Mr. Steele’s, and superintended the management of it myself for many years; I had therefore a far better opportunity of forming an opinion than Mr. Clarkson can have. He has read Mr. Steele’s accounts: I witnessed the operation and effects of his plans.

‘He possessed one of the largest and most seasonable plantations, in a delightful part of the island. With all these advantages, his estate was never in as good order as those in the same neighbourhood, and the crops were neither adequate to the size and resources of the estate, nor in proportion to those of other estates in the same part of the island. The copyhold system was noxious to the slaves, because the power was placed in the hands of a few ignorant and unfeeling negroes, slaves like themselves; frequently governed by motives of private pique and secret malice. This could not fail to produce jealousies and heart-burnings among them. They were paid for the work which they actually performed, not in the currency of the island, but in copper pence, which would not pass out of the plantation, so that they were obliged to lay them out on the estate. To avoid this regulation, they would purchase articles from the plantation-storekeeper, and sell them again to the neighbouring negroes at a loss, in order to obtain the money of the island. Finally, after an experiment of thirty years, under Mr. Steele, and his executor Mr. T. Bell, Mr. Steele’s debts remained unpaid, and the plantation was sold by a decree of the Court

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of Chancery. After the debts and costs of suit were paid, very little remained out of £45,000 to go to the residuary legatees.

It was very well known that the negroes rejoiced when the change took place, and thanked their God that they were relieved from the copyhold system. Such was the final result and success that attended this system, which has been so much eulogized by Mr. Clarkson.

After the estate was sold and the system changed, I had equally an opportunity of observing the management; and certainly the manifest improvement was strong evidence in favour of the change. Fields, which had been covered with bushes for a series of years, were brought into cultivation, and the number of pounds of sugar was, in some years, more than doubled, under the new management. The provision crops also were abundant; consequently the negroes and stock were amply provided for.

If Mr. Clarkson, or any other person, should doubt the correctness of what I have advanced, they may apply to the records in the secretary's and master's in chancery's offices in Barbadoes, where what I have asserted will be fully confirmed.

The result of this system is also thus described in a letter from the Attorney-General of Barbadoes. (*M^cQueen*, p. 426.)

I was surprised to see it asserted lately in print, that his (Mr. Steele's) plantation succeeded well under that management. *I know it to be false*—it failed considerably; and had he lived a few years longer, he would have died not worth a farthing. Upon his death they reverted to the old system, to which the slaves readily and willingly returned: the plantation now succeeds, and the slaves are contented and happy, and think themselves much better off than under the copyhold system, for their wages would not afford them many comforts which they have now.

The statements of the great increase in the profits of Mr. Steele's estate, during the first three years after the establishment of his system, as quoted by Mr. Clarkson, in proof of its success, are sufficiently answered by the testimony of Mr. Sealy and the Attorney-General of Barbadoes, and by the embarrassed state of Mr. Steele's affairs at the time of his death, after an experiment of thirty years, during a period perhaps the most prosperous in the whole history of the West India colonies.

It is also impossible for any person who examines dispassionately the details of the system, to be surprised at its having proved equally unsatisfactory to the negroes, or to consider that it could be generally adopted with any chance of advantage.

Mr. Steele paid the negroes for their labour, and he fixed a rent upon their cottages, and their land; and supplied them from his store with every thing which they had occasion to buy: but he fixed all the prices at his own discretion. He opened a debtor and creditor account with every negro, and paid him the balance of that account. If such a system were generally to be adopted, and

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to be administered by the managers of the estates of absentees, what an opportunity would be afforded for fraud, and what chance would there be of the negroes feeling satisfied with accounts which they could not either check or understand?

But it is asserted, that under this system the negroes prospered;—at least, that they increased in number. In Mr. Clarkson's pamphlet, p. 39. we find the following quotation:—

'In a plantation of 200 (qv. 288?) slaves in June, 1780, consisting of 90 men, 82 women, 56 boys and 60 girls, though under the exertions of an able and honest manager, there were only 15 births, and no less than 57 deaths, in three years and three months. In four years and three months after the change of government, there were 44 births, and only 41 deaths, of which 10 deaths were of superannuated men and women, some above 80 years old.'

Now it is stated in Mr. M'Queen's work, page 212, that 'upon reference to Mr. Steele's books in Barbadoes, those of his executor who continued his plan, and the records of the Court of Chancery of that island, it appears that, at the commencement of his system in 1780, there were on that estate 288 negroes, and at its close in 1797, only 240, (a decrease of 48,) while the surrounding properties had a general natural increase.

As a moral experiment, with the view of ascertaining the use which the negroes would make of civil rights, Mr. Steele's system was no less fallacious.

Mr. Steele was resident amongst his negroes, with the absolute power of instantly resuming every privilege which he had conferred. The negroes could not for a moment forget that he possessed this power,—what inference then could be drawn as to the use which they would make of the same privileges, if conferred upon them irrevocably by law?

As a test of the use which they would make of their entire freedom, the inference would be still less to be relied upon.

Though Mr. Steele is stated to have brought them to the 'threshold of freedom,' it does not appear that he intended them to pass it. His feelings, at least with respect to slavery, were not of the same character with those of the gentlemen who so much admired his system. 'By a coloured woman, a slave belonging to Byde Mill Plantation, which he rented, he had two children, a son and a daughter.'—'He left them a considerable part of his property, but he left them all slaves;' (*M'Queen*) and, as it appears from the copy of his will, he did not include the mother in the provision which he made for purchasing the manumission of the children.

The proceedings of the society instituted at Washington for the purpose of colonizing the free people of colour, furnish matter of interesting speculation as connected with this subject, as well as those

those of the auxiliary societies at Baltimore, Philadelphia, Virginia, New York, and Ohio, and in most of the states. We may be tempted to recur to this subject at some future period; at present we will only say that the free people of colour are considered throughout America as constituting the worst class of her citizens; that it does not appear that they generally devote themselves with assiduity and steadiness to any system of employment, and specifically not to the cultivation of sugar, where opportunities exist for that employment, as, for instance, in Louisiana.

We cannot close this Article without adverting to a meeting of the society established for the purpose of abolishing slavery in the colonies, held at Freemasons Tavern, Great Queen Street, His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester being in the chair, on the 25th of June. The Report of this meeting is given at length in the Morning Chronicle of the 26th of June, where it is said that Mr. Wilberforce, junior, read the Report of the Committee, which stated that the insurrection at Demerara was proved to have originated solely in the concealment by the governor of the instructions sent from the government at home. Mr. Stephen, in seconding the first resolution, expressed his entire conviction of the innocence of Mr. Smith of the London Missionary Society, who had received a sentence of a court-martial in the colony of Demerara; and, at a subsequent period of the proceedings, Lord Calthorpe concluded his speech by moving, that the meeting, in common with the nation at large, view with sorrow and indignation the gross violation of law and justice exhibited at Demerara in the trial of Mr. Smith. On the subject of that trial, of the circumstances which preceded it, of its character and consequences, and of the nature and tendency of the debate which occurred upon it in the House of Commons, we shall not now offer any opinion, further than to declare that, whatever may have been the circumstances which preceded or characterized that trial, whatever may have been the merits or demerits of the parties concerned in it, Mr. Smith, in our judgment, was guilty of the fact of concealing a traitorous conspiracy, and that that concealment was calculated to produce, and did produce consequences which were most injurious, and which might have been fatal to the whole community: we cannot, however, refrain from expressing our apprehensions of the incalculable injury which must accrue to the cause of missionaries in general if the opinions avowed by Doctor Lushington at this meeting, 'that Mr. Smith's conduct had throughout his mission been marked with the most *circumspect* prudence,' should be adopted by the London and other Missionary Societies.' Could it be wondered if the fears of the colonists should be roused, on learning that
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the men now exercising the functions of Missionaries in the West Indies, had been sent out by persons who entertain such sentiments?

But whatever may be the guilt or innocence of Mr. Smith, the expiation of the tomb has passed between him and us, and that consideration alone is sufficient to silence all reflections and remonstrances upon the subject: if, however, we have no disposition to violate the sacred repose of the dead, we are equally called upon not to abandon the honour and character of the living, believing, as we conscientiously do, whatever may have been the defects in the course of proceeding which the court-martial adopted, that the intention of its members was pure, and that they had no desire but to do justice in that crisis of prejudice and passion to which they were on all sides exposed.

We think also, that one of the Resolutions moved at this meeting by Mr. Baptist Noel displays in too unqualified a manner 'the headlong impetuosity' with which, to repeat the words already quoted from Robertson, some men 'hurry on toward a favourite point,'—That resolution is:

'That in the opinion of this Meeting the bondage in which 800,000 of their fellow subjects are held is repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, contrary to the soundest maxims of policy, and a gross violation of the principles of humanity and justice; and that, animated with the hope of being instrumental in putting a period to this state of oppression, of suffering, and wiping out this foul reproach to the British name and character, the meeting now pledge themselves to prosecute the sacred cause they have undertaken with zeal, activity, and perseverance, until, by the blessing of God on their united efforts, they are enabled to rejoice together in the final accomplishment of their great work of mercy.'

To the above resolution we cannot so well reply as in the eloquent and statesman-like language of Mr. Canning, in his Speech on Mr. Buxton's motion, (p. 26.)

'God forbid that I should contend that the Christian religion is favourable to slavery. But, I confess, I feel a strong objection to the introduction of the name of Christianity, as it were bodily, into any parliamentary question. Religion ought to controul the acts and to regulate the consciences of government, as well as of individuals; but when it is put forward to serve a political purpose, however laudable, it is done, I think, after the example of ill times, and I cannot but remember the ill objects to which in those times such a practice was applied. Assuredly no Christian will deny that the spirit of the Christian religion is hostile to slavery, as it is to every abuse and misuse of power: it is hostile to all deviations from rectitude, morality, and justice; but if it be meant that in the Christian religion there is a special denunciation against slavery, that slavery and Christianity cannot exist together,

together, I think the honourable gentleman himself must admit that the proposition is historically false; and again I must say, that I cannot consent to the confounding, for a political purpose, what is morally true, with what is historically false. One peculiar characteristic of the Christian dispensation, if I must venture in this place upon such a theme, is, that it has accommodated itself to all states of society, rather than that it has selected any particular state of society for the peculiar exercise of its influence. If it has added lustre to the sceptre of the sovereign, it has equally been the consolation of the slave. It applies to all ranks of life, to all conditions of men; and the sufferings of this world, even to those upon whom they press most heavily, are rendered comparatively indifferent by the prospect of compensation in the world of which Christianity affords the assurance—true it certainly is, that Christianity generally tends to elevate, not to degrade the character of man; but it is not true, in the specific sense conveyed in the honourable gentleman's resolution, it is not true that there is that in the Christian religion which makes it impossible that it should co-exist with slavery in the world. Slavery has been known in all times and under all systems of religion, whether true or false.

When Christianity was introduced into the world, it took its root amidst the galling slavery of the Roman Empire; more galling in many respects (though not precisely of the same character) than that of which the honourable gentleman, in common, I may say, with every friend of humanity, complains. Slavery at that period gave to the master the power of life and death over his bondsman: this is undeniable, known to every body: *Ita servus homo est!* are the words put by Juvenal into the mouth of the fine lady who calls upon her husband to crucify his slave. If the evils of this dreadful system nevertheless gradually vanished before the gentle but certain influence of Christianity, and if the great Author of the system trusted rather to this gradual operation of the principle than to any immediate or direct precept, I think parliament would do more wisely rather to rely upon the like operation of the same principle than to put forward the authority of Christianity, in at least a questionable shape.—*ibid.* p. 28.

For our own part we would add, that, to remove that bondage without the necessary precautions, and to hazard the results which such a removal would (we might perhaps say, must) produce, is more repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, more contrary to sound maxims of policy, and a greater violation of the principles of humanity and justice than to maintain it even as it is. But we are reduced to no such alternative; and here we are glad to have the confirmation of the same great authority.

If I am asked, whether I am for the permanent existence of slavery in our colonies, I say, No. But if I am asked whether I am favourable to its immediate abolition, I say, No. And if I am asked which I would prefer, permanent slavery, or immediate abolition, I do not know whether, under all the perplexing circumstances of the case, I must not say, I would prefer things remaining as they are:—not, God knows!

from any love of the existing state of things, but on account of the tremendous responsibility of attempting to mend it by a sudden change.

Happily, however, we are not driven to either of these extremes. Between the two, there is an open debateable ground. By gradual measures, producing gradual improvement, not only may the individual slave be set free, but his very *status* may be ultimately abolished. Such has been the progress of improvement in nations of Europe that once were most barbarous, and are now most polished. But such a consummation is not a measure of single enactment and of instant effect. Much is to be done and much is to be forborne, before we can hope to arrive at it. The co-operation of adverse parties and the concurrence of various circumstances are requisite for its accomplishment; and, after all, the measure will eventually make its way rather by the light of reason than by the coercion of authority.—p. 8.*

Immediate emancipation to the negro himself, I am most happy to hear the honourable gentleman disclaim. It would indeed be a fatal gift. To be safely enjoyed, it must be gradually and diligently earned. *Haud facile esse viam voluit*, is the condition under which it has pleased Divine Providence that all the valuable objects of human aspiration should be attained. This condition is the legitimate stimulant of laudable industry, and the best corrective of ambitious desire. No effort of an individual, and no enactment of a legislature can relieve human nature from the operation of this condition. To attempt to shorten the road between desire and attainment is, nine times out of ten, to go astray, and to miss the wished for object altogether. I am fully persuaded that freedom, when acquired under the regulations prescribed by government, will be a more delightful as well as a more safe and more stable possession than if it were bestowed by a sudden acclamation.

In dealing with the negro, we must remember that we are dealing with a being possessing the form and strength of a man, but the intellect only of a child. To turn him loose in the manhood of his physical strength, in the maturity of his physical passions, but in the infancy of his uninstructed reason, would be to raise up a creature resembling the splendid fiction of a recent romance: the hero of which constructs a human form, with all the corporeal capabilities of man, and with the thews and sinews of a giant; but being unable to impart to the work of his hands a perception of right and wrong, he finds too late that he has only created a more than mortal power of doing mischief, and himself recoils from the monster which he has made.

Such would be the effect of a sudden emancipation, before the negro was prepared for the enjoyment of well-regulated liberty,—I, therefore, would proceed gradually, because I would proceed safely. I know that the impulse of enthusiasm would carry us much farther than I am prepared to go. I know it is objected that all this preparation will take time. Take time, sir! To be sure it will; to be sure it should; to be sure it must! Time, sir!—why what is it we have to deal with? Is it with an evil of yesterday's origin? with a thing which has grown up in our time; of which we have watched the growth—measured the extent, and which we have ascertained the means of cor-

* Mr. Canning's Speech, Wednesday, 17th March, 1824.

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recting or controlling? No; we have to deal with an evil which is the growth of centuries, and of tens of centuries; which is almost coeval with the deluge; which has existed under different modifications since man was man. Do gentlemen, in their passion for legislation, think that, after only thirty years' discussion, they can now at once manage as they will the most unmanageable perhaps of all subjects? or do we forget, sir, that in fact not more than thirty years have elapsed since we first presumed to approach even the outworks of this great question? Do we, in the ardour of our nascent reformation, forget that, during the ages which this system has existed, no preceding generation of legislators has ventured to touch it with a reforming hand; and have we the vanity to flatter ourselves that we can annihilate it at a blow? No, sir, no—we must be contented to proceed, as I have already said, gradually and cautiously.—p. 20.

‘If we are to do good (which I earnestly hope and sincerely believe we may), it is not to be done by sudden and violent measures; but by efforts of a patient and comparatively tame character; by measures slow in their progress, but steady and sure in their operation; measures which must be carried into effect, not by a few individuals of rare talents and conspicuous zeal, but by the great body of those whom the advocates of the negro distrust and seem disposed to put aside.

‘Yes, sir, if the condition of the slave is to be improved, that improvement must be introduced through the medium of his master. The masters are the instruments through whom and by whom you must act upon the slave population; and if, by any proceedings of ours, we shall unhappily place between the slave and his master the barrier of insurmountable hostility, we shall at once put an end to the best chance of emancipation, or even of amendment.—Instead of diffusing gradually over those dark regions a pure and salutary light, we may at once kindle a flame only to be quenched in blood.’—p. 31.

To these sentiments we give our most unqualified assent. We will not weaken them by a commentary; but we would implore those who appear to us, on this subject, unconsciously to blend their passions and their prejudices with their benevolence, to listen to the warning voice which speaks in the foregoing passages, so splendid in diction and so irresistible in argument—‘If they do not instead of diffusing gradually over those dark regions a pure and salutary light, they will kindle a flame only to be quenched—(if ever quenched)—in blood.’

In this Article on ‘Faux’s Memorable Days in America,’ (Q. R. No. LVIII.) a passage was introduced from that work reflecting on the reputation of the lady of Mr. Law. We have since been fully satisfied that every part of the statement in which she is mentioned is devoid of truth; and we therefore take this opportunity of expressing our regret that a calumny so unfounded should have been unwarily copied into our pages.

Now we have mentioned this Article, we may add, that in saying, ‘It was not mentioned by what means Mr. Law acquired his immense property in India,’ there was no thought whatever of impeaching his integrity. We know no more of Mr. Law than Faux tells; and merely meant to say, that nothing was to be found in his work respecting the capacity in which Mr. Law acted in India, or the situation which he held.

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